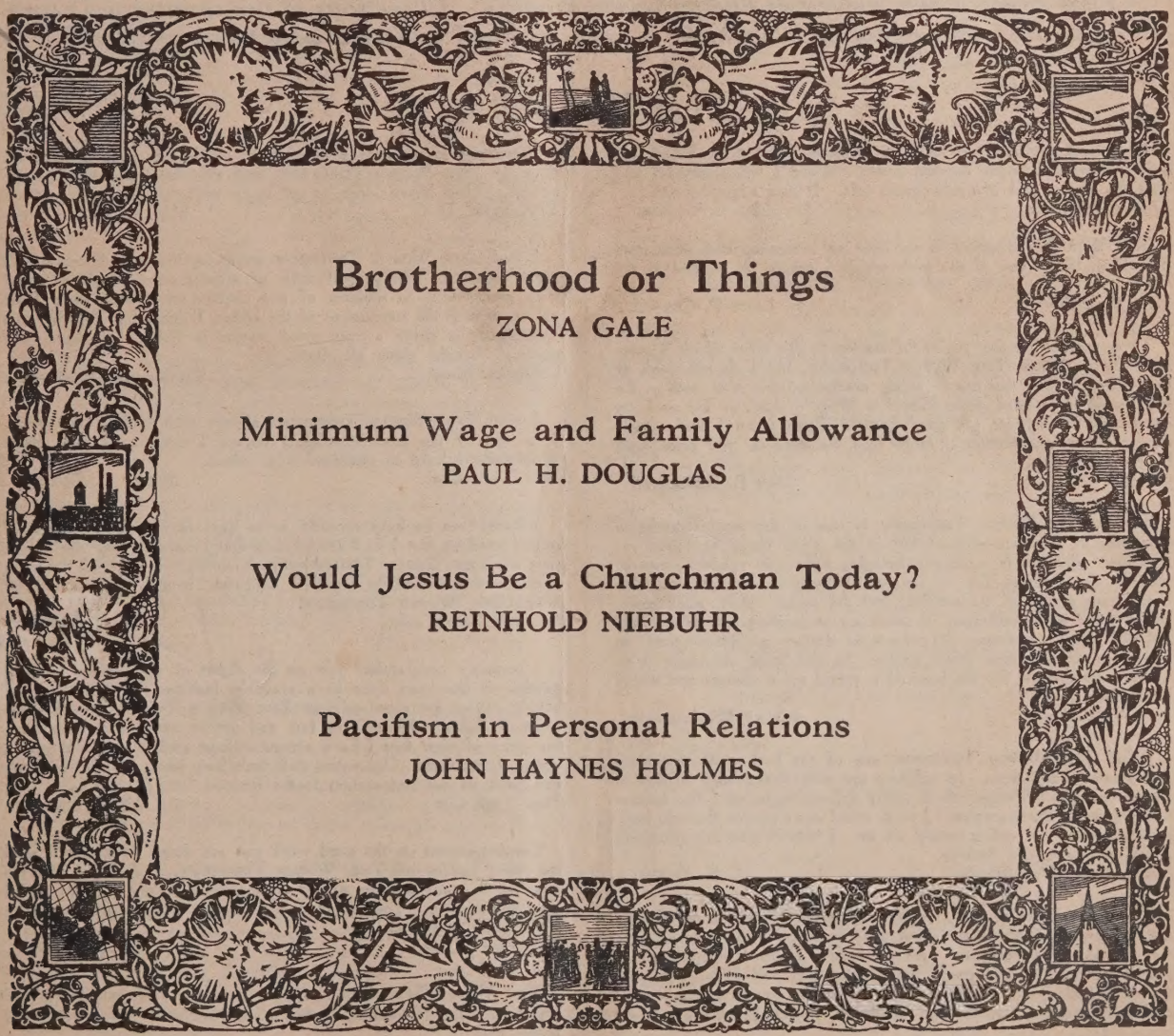
School of Religion Berkeley, Calif.

IS GANDHI A PACIFIST?

THE WORLD TOMORROW

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS A COPY TWO DOLLARS A YEAR

VOL. XI DECEMBER, 1928 No. 12



Brotherhood or Things
ZONA GALE

Minimum Wage and Family Allowance
PAUL H. DOUGLAS

Would Jesus Be a Churchman Today?
REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Pacifism in Personal Relations
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.
52 VANDERBILT AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

MAY BE LOANED
DEC 19
After

The Tide Has Turned

IN the life of every successful magazine there comes a period when its circulation leaps forward rapidly. Our day seems to have arrived. The paid circulation of this journal has doubled during the past two years and is still climbing steadily.

THE high quality of our contents has won us a place in The Reader's Guide, the standard index of leading periodicals. We are especially pleased with this recognition because only two other journals of religion, The Catholic World and The Missionary Review, are included. More than 4,000 libraries are now on our subscription list.

ARTICLES and editorials from The World Tomorrow are frequently quoted and reprinted in other publications. The evidence is cumulative that our influence is constantly increasing.

FRIENDS of The World Tomorrow have never appeared so enthusiastic over our efforts to help create a new society as during recent months. All sections of the country are represented in the scores of comments which we have received during the past few weeks.

What They Tell Us

As I read the last issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW, I took out articles I wanted to file for future use. When I was through I had only the covers and two odd sheets left. It was a great issue.
Lincoln, Nebraska — HAL C. GOSSARD

THE WORLD TOMORROW is not only an interesting and stimulating periodical, but is one of the tools which I cannot do without in my work.
New York City — LUCY P. CARNER

There may be another periodical coming to this office which is more carefully read than THE WORLD TOMORROW, but I do not think of one. It has so little that can be safely overlooked that it is read, as the Bible used to be read, from "kiver to kiver." And, so far as I am concerned, its contents are good gospel. Even when I find myself disagreeing or questioning, I know that the material you print must be reckoned with.
Chicago — DAN B. BRUMMITT

To me THE WORLD TOMORROW is one of the most remarkable monthlies in America—remarkable in the wide range of social information which it is constantly bringing before its readers, remarkable in the brilliant list of its contributors, the fundamental and challenging nature of its articles, and the social vision, intelligence, and courage of its editorials. It takes joy in meeting, not in evading, difficult social questions. It refuses to declare an interregnum on ethical principles when crises arrive. In the spirit animating THE WORLD TOMORROW lies the hope of peaceful social change and world brotherhood.
New York City — HARRY W. LAIDLER

I find THE WORLD TOMORROW one of the best small magazines that comes to my desk. Its subjects are well chosen and written in straightforward language. It is really refreshing to read the articles that appear in the magazine. I wish many more people than do have an opportunity to read it would do so. I believe you are rendering a real service to this country.
Morgantown, West Virginia — J. N. DEAHL

The recent issues of THE WORLD TOMORROW continue to advance the remarkably high standard of that remarkable periodical. For the purpose of opening the eyes of college students and thoughtful people generally to the really important events and social trends of the world today, with courageous, sane comment by outstanding, internationally minded leaders, this magazine, in my judgment, has no equal today.
Toledo — C. J. BUSHNELL

Permit me to say here how greatly I admire the constructive work done by THE WORLD TOMORROW, and also the fine temper of the editors. They haven't time to get angry with their fellows.
Washington, D. C. — MRS. LOUIS F. POST

I find THE WORLD TOMORROW an indispensable intellectual and moral stimulus. The present series of articles seems to me to be of very great value to students of our civilization. Even when I do not agree with the conclusions of the editor, I think that THE WORLD TOMORROW is doing a very great service in liberalizing social and political thought along all lines.
Columbia, Missouri — CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

I read THE WORLD TOMORROW always with interest and profit. It is one of the most stimulating papers I receive. I take every opportunity I have to commend it to others.
New York City — SIDNEY L. GULICK

I have been so busy recently as to have to cut down drastically on my reading, but I find nevertheless that I have to read the largest part of THE WORLD TOMORROW each month. I think all laborites and those interested in workers' education would be benefited by taking THE WORLD TOMORROW.
Katonah, New York — A. J. MUSTE

I certainly congratulate you on the digest of the various political parties—it has been done in a masterly fashion. As you know, I simply cannot get along without THE WORLD TOMORROW—its treatment of difficult things is so fair and yet so exceedingly true from my point of view that I have a regular feast each time the magazine comes to my desk. Our entire staff feels very much as I do and you can bank on our cooperation to the limit.
New York City — W. H. TINKER

Congratulations on the good work you are doing. If you will send me thirty copies of THE WORLD TOMORROW, I shall be glad to give one to every member of my class and see if any of them would care to subscribe. You are fearlessly tackling modern problems from a Christian standpoint.
New Haven, Conn. — JEROME DAVIS

THE WORLD TOMORROW has come to be the most stimulating and constructive journal looking toward a Christian social order that comes to my desk.
New York City — RALPH E. DIFFENDORFER

This is an advertisement.

The Ideal Christmas Remembrance

WHAT could be more appropriate at this Christmas season than to send introductory subscriptions to The World Tomorrow—a journal looking toward a social order based on the religion of Jesus—to five of your friends? Send us five dollars and we will enter their subscriptions for eight months and send them an appropriate Christmas card indicating that the subscription comes from you.

IF you will do this, we prophesy that our circulation will soon reach 20,000 and that your friends will be impelled to write letters similar to the following:

THE WORLD TOMORROW gets better and better every month. My enthusiasm is boundless. When I find in a single issue articles of such extraordinary value as those by John Dewey and Professor Anesaki on our modern civilization, by Reinhold Niebuhr on our economic order and by Kirby Page on the Monroe Doctrine, I feel fully justified in saying that no publication which comes to my desk stimulates my thinking as much as THE WORLD TOMORROW.

New York City — SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT

THE WORLD TOMORROW has always been good. Recent numbers, however, seem to strike a new level of ethical insight and intellectual heroism. At a time when many liberal and Christian papers have run to cover, you have stood your ground. Congratulations!

Chicago — GILBERT S. COX

The recent issues of THE WORLD TOMORROW have been particularly helpful not only in the clear-cut, scholarly way in which the topics have been presented but also in the timeliness of the subjects treated. The Survey of the Parties is a particularly helpful piece of literature issued at a most opportune moment. It was of great value to us in our issue of the Forum Bulletin entitled, "The Election Issues."

New York City — R. L. EWING

THE WORLD TOMORROW in increasing its size and circulation has not lost its quality. A few other magazines are perhaps as fearless and as brilliant, but none that I know is as unfailingly sweet natured. It seems as if its writers really try to be Sermon on the Mount people.

St. Louis — MRS. E. M. GROSSMAN

You are certainly to be congratulated on the type of magazine you are putting out. If there is a more vital, prophetic, and stimulating paper published than THE WORLD TOMORROW, I have not heard of it. I very much enjoy all the regular features and come nearer reading the whole issue from "kiver to kiver" than any other publication I receive. The penetrating humor of "Eccentricus" makes a delightful climax. He is about the best "cus" I know.

West Lafayette, Indiana — MELVIN C. HUNT

THE WORLD TOMORROW seems to us to be getting better and better. It is especially refreshing to see it supporting Norman Thomas with no uncertain voice. Of course, that is no more than one should expect, but it is more than is being realized from some other so-called liberal publications. As to the contributors and articles which are appearing on all the vital issues of the day, my husband and I are of the opinion that nowhere, whether in weeklies or monthlies, is there more enlightenment for the honest liberal or radical than in THE WORLD TOMORROW.

Syracuse — MRS. HORACE A. EATON

You are doing one of the finest pieces of work for a better world that is being done in our country today. In public meetings and in response to inquiries coming by correspondence, I name THE WORLD TOMORROW among the first publications. I read it, quote from it, and file it for future reference. It is a valuable publication, and no one can read it regularly without having his horizon widened and his understanding enlightened.

Baltimore — PETER AINSLIE

Now Appearing

A Challenging Series on

A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER

Ways of Transforming the Present Competitive Order into a Coöperative System

Sixteen articles by Reinhold Niebuhr, Harry F. Ward, Paul H. Douglas, I. M. Rubinow, Benjamin Stolberg, A. J. Muste, Cedric Long, Francis J. McConnell, John Maurice Clark, Harry W. Laidler, William Orton, J. A. Hobson, Kirby Page, Norman Thomas, Patrick M. Malin, Edouard C. Lindeman.

Another Series on

WOULD JESUS BE A CHRISTIAN TODAY?

A Dozen Provocative Articles by the Editors

on

THE GOOD IN AMERICAN LIFE

A group of articles interpreting the contributions to our national life made respectively by South Europeans, Anglo-Saxons, Irish, Teutons, Jews, and Negroes.

RIVAL WORLD MOVEMENTS

Four pairs of articles pro and con discussing capitalism, socialism, communism, and fascism.

SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION OFFERS

Check the one you want

- ☐ 8 months' special introductory offer $1. (Canada $1.15; Foreign $1.25) (This does not apply to renewals)
- ☐ 1 year's regular subscription $2. (Canada $2.25; Foreign $2.50)
- ☐ 2 years' special subscription $3. (Canada $3.50; Foreign $4.00)

With these New Books — One year's subscription	Reg. Price	Both for
☐ With *Recent Gains in American Civilization*, KIRBY PAGE, Editor	$5.00	$3.50
☐ With *Does Civilization Need Religion?* by REINHOLD NIEBUHR	4.00	2.75
☐ With *Power Control*, by H. S. RAUSHENBUSH and HARRY W. LAIDLER	3.00	2.25
☐ With *Religion and Social Justice*, by SHERWOOD EDDY	3.50	2.25
☐ With *The Swan Song*, by JOHN GALSWORTHY	4.50	3.35
☐ With *American Negro Folk-Songs*, by N. I. WHITE	7.00	5.00
☐ With *American Labor Dynamics*, Edited by J. B. S. HARDMAN	6.00	4.25
☐ With *The Story of Oriental Philosophy*, by L. ADAMS BECK	7.00	4.90
☐ With *The New Map of South America*, by HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS	5.00	3.65
☐ With *The Island Within*, by LUDWIG LEWISOHN	4.50	3.15
☐ With *Living India*, by SAVEL ZIMAND	5.00	3.45

Special Magazine Combinations

THE WORLD TOMORROW		
☐ With *The Nation*	$7.00	$5.25
☐ With *Opportunity*	3.50	2.75
☐ With *Children*	4.50	3.00
☐ With *The Christian Century* (Special offer for new subscribers to *The Christian Century;* no renewals to that journal accepted.	6.00	3.50
☐ With *Harper's*	$6.00	$5.00
☐ With *The Intercollegian*	3.25	2.00
☐ With *Time*	7.00	5.00
☐ With *The Atlantic Monthly*	6.00	4.75

THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.,
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City

- ☐ I enclose $5.00 for which please send introductory Christmas subscriptions to the five persons whose names and addresses are given on the attached sheet.
- ☐ I wish to take advantage of the special offer checked above and enclose $..... in payment, making a total of $..... enclosed.

Name .....

Address .....

(Books may be sent to one address and the magazine to another.)

The World Tomorrow

Vol. XI December, 1928 No. 12

Copyright, 1928, The World Tomorrow, Inc.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Editorials	485
Brotherhood or Things? By Zona Gale	490
To Jesus on His Birthday (verse). By Edna St. Vincent Millay	491
Would Jesus Be a Churchman Today? By Reinhold Niebuhr	492
Educating for World Citizenship. By Claora E. Bell	494
Minimum Wage and Family Allowances. By Paul H. Douglas	495
On Reading Wordsworth's Sonnet "To Toussaint L'ouverture" (verse). By Robertson Trowbridge	498
Not in the Headlines	499
Is Gandhi a Pacifist?	500
Clippings	502
The Larks of St. Francis. By Vida D. Scudder	503
True Dial of Time (verse). By Ruth Langland Holberg	504
Peace Tactics and a Racial Minority. By Howard Thurman	505
The Communist Religion. By J. P. Warbasse	507
Sonnet of Wonder at Light (verse). By Sarah N. Cleghorn	509
Findings	510
Pacifism in Personal Relations. By John Haynes Holmes	511
Akbar, Emperor of India. By Felix Valyi	515
Adult Education in Denmark. By Eric H. Thomsen	516
The Book End	518
Correspondence	523
The Last Page	526

Published the first day of each month at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, *by* THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is on file in most public and college libraries and is indexed in the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Contents*.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single copies, 25 cents; $2 per year; Canada $2.25; foreign, $2.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City. British representative, Edgar Dunstan, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. Annual Subscriptions, 10s. post free. Entered as Second Class Matter, Sept. 30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Who's Who in This Issue

Zona Gale, Wisconsin author and playwright, needs no introduction to readers of THE WORLD TOMORROW.

Paul H. Douglas is professor of Industrial Relations at the University of Chicago.

Edna St. Vincent Millay, distinguished American poet, has recently published her latest volume, "The Buck in the Snow," from which the sonnet "To Jesus on His Birthday" is taken.

Vida Scudder is sometime professor of English Literature at Wellesley College.

Howard Thurman is pastor of Mount Zion Baptist Church, Oberlin, Ohio.

J. P. Warbasse, retired surgeon and economist, devotes most of his time to the International Coöperative Alliance.

John Haynes Holmes is minister of the Community Church, New York.

Ruth Langland Holberg is an artist and poet of New York and Rockport, Massachusetts.

Eric H. Thomsen is a minister at Keene Valley, New York.

Isaac J. Cox is professor of History at Northwestern University.

Paul Jones and Amy Blanche Greene are secretaries of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Kenneth Saunders, educator and author, makes his home at Berkeley, California.

Sarah N. Cleghorn, a frequent contributor of verse to this and other magazines, is associated with Manumit School at Pawling, New York.

Robertson Trowbridge contributes verse to various periodicals.

The World Tomorrow, Inc.

EDITORS
KIRBY PAGE
DEVERE ALLEN
REINHOLD NIEBUHR

OFFICERS
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, PRESIDENT
KENNETH E. WALSER, TREASURER
CAROLINE B. LA MONTE, SECRETARY

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
SARAH N. CLEGHORN — JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
PAUL H. DOUGLAS — PAUL JONES
SHERWOOD EDDY — RUFUS M. JONES
H. C. ENGELBRECHT — A. J. MUSTE
ZONA GALE — RICHARD ROBERTS
FRANCIS J. McCONNELL — NORMAN THOMAS

EDITORIAL COUNCIL
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS AND — F. ERNEST JOHNSON
SAMUEL M. CAVERT — DAVID R. PORTER
AMY BLANCHE GREENE — JOHN NEVIN SAYRE
CHARLES S. JOHNSON — RIDGELY TORRENCE
JOSHUA LIEBERMAN — HENRY P. VAN DUSEN

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS
A. MAUDE ROYDEN (ENGLAND) — C. F. ANDREWS (INDIA)
ARNOLD WOLFERS (GERMANY) — HENRY T. HODGKIN (CHINA)
FRANCIS P. MILLER, (GENEVA, SWITZERLAND)

LEE GINTER, BUSINESS ASSISTANT — GLADYS E. MEYERAND, EDITORIAL ASSISTANT
LILLIE BECKER, BOOKKEEPER — HAZEL KIMBER, SUBSCRIPTION MANAGER
VIOLA FALMETTA, EDITORIAL SECRETARY — SARAH E. SCHUYLER, OFFICE SECRETARY
SOPHIE TREFON, BUSINESS SECRETARY — MARVIN BENDINER, OFFICE SECRETARY

In January

Perils of Competition for Private Gain
Harry F. Ward

The Patriot
Rabindranath Tagore

The "Why" of Workers' Education
A. J. Muste

Would Jesus Believe in Peace at Any Price?
Kirby Page

Race Solidarity: An Ideal of No Importance
Ernest Rice McKinney

War Resistance as War Prevention
Devere Allen

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

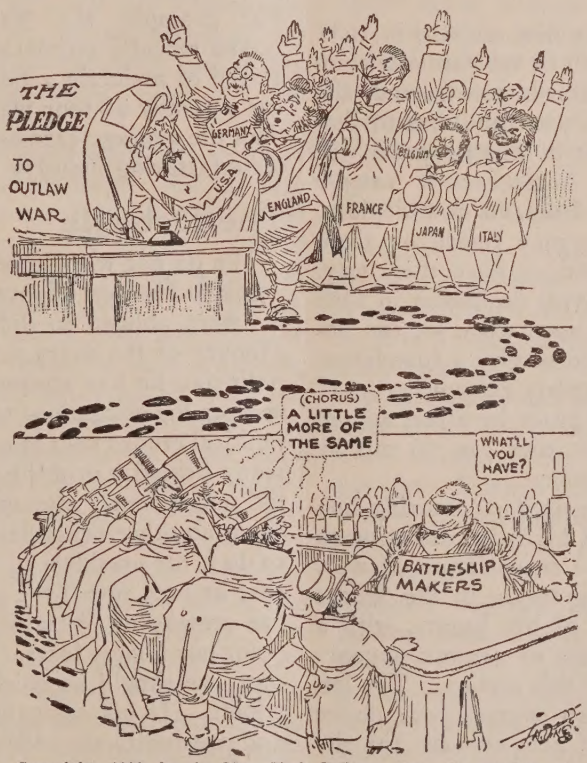
Vol. XI December, 1928 No. 12

Editorials

If Renunciation, Why Cruisers?

When the United States Senate convenes this month it will have on its agenda for early consideration the Naval Bill passed by the House to build 15 cruisers and one airplane carrier at a cost of $274,000,000. This is what is left of the 71 ship building program sponsored last winter by the House Naval Affairs Committee but denounced by Senator Borah as "sheer madness" and reduced by a deluge of protest letters from all over the country to the present proposal for 16 ships. Sixteen ships is considerably less than 71 but if it is remembered that as late as December, 1926, President Coolidge in his Budget Message to Congress opposed appropriations for building *three* cruisers, the 16 ships now asked for will be seen to be a large *increase* beyond what was contemplated only two years ago. Furthermore if this present proposal is carried through and if the British announced naval building program is not increased, the United States by 1931 will be out-stripping the British total of 10,000-ton cruisers by ten American cruisers of this class. Great Britain has a larger number of small cruisers than we, but the 10,000 ton boats with eight-inch guns outmatch everything else in cruiser construction; so that our 16 ship Bill does not propose parity with Great Britain at this point, but it goes *ten cruisers beyond parity* in the most powerful type of cruiser allowed by the Washington Limitation of Armament Conference. If the Senate adopts this Bill it will be voting with $274,000,000 for a competitive armament race with Great Britain and perhaps with a Franco-British alliance.

There is grave danger that our Senate will do this. And the American people will be told that these new cruisers are wanted only for self defence or else to bargain with in order realistically to advance the cause of peace.



Copyright, 1928, by the New York Tribune, Inc. By courtesy of the New York *Herald Tribune*.

A QUEER WAY TO SWEAR OFF

—Darling in the New York *Herald Tribune*.

The first bargain proposed will concern Secretary Kellogg's multilateral treaty. There is talk in Washington that the navy group have let the President and Secretary Kellogg understand that they will not oppose this treaty if the Senate passes the Cruiser Bill first, but that if the President sends the treaty for ratification to the Senate before the Cruiser Bill has been favorably acted upon, then every effort will be made to kill ratification of the treaty. It now seems evident that Senator Borah, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, will trade his opposition to the Cruiser Bill for the navy men's agreement not to fight the peace treaty. Most disturbing of all, there is good ground to believe that, following Borah's lead and the bargaining policy, a number of influential church groups and peace organizations have decided not to oppose the 15 cruiser program for fear lest a fight in the Senate over the navy group's demands will jeopardize ratification of the treaty. It is argued that after we have once secured the treaty, then the lovers of peace

can compel limitation of armament more and more each year, but they must first get the treaty passed.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is convinced that if the friends of peace do not oppose the pending naval bill with all possible strength, they will mutilate the Kellogg treaty in the act of its being born. We believe that the treaty can be passed at this session of Congress, but if it is to be killed, let this happen at the hands of its enemies and not in the house of its friends! Already the treaty has been seriously weakened by the official correspondence which preceded its signing. Today it is regarded with cynical contempt and indifference in many circles of wide influence in Europe. And if now our Senate adopts a provocative naval program, at the critical moment when this pact for the international renunciation of war is right before it, the moral and psychological force of the pact will have been given such a damaging blow that a formal subsequent ratification will be worth little more than bestowing a decent funeral on the corpse after a murder.

It takes three years to build a new cruiser; in 1931 the five to be begun next year will be substantially completed, five more will be two-thirds constructed, the keels of the last five will be laid, and millions of dollars actually spent. The threat of this program will perhaps have confirmed an Anglo-French *entente* which the press and people of England now deplore, but which their military group may fasten on them if we let our short-sighted navalists have their way. Will it be easier to get real naval limitation in such circumstances than it would be now, when we can oppose the cruisers not yet built and so give a foundation of reality to the words of the treaty renouncing war?

Now is the time to vote for peace by direct action. We suggest to our readers that they can do this by writing personally to the following:

(1) To President Coolidge *at once* assuring him of your support of the effort of his Administration to negotiate world treaties for the renunciation of war, urging him to send the Kellogg treaty to the Senate immediately upon the opening of the Senate, with a message stressing the importance of prompt unqualified ratification of the treaty at this session. The letter to the President should also express your desire that he oppose the building of new cruisers for the Navy at this time.

(2) Letters to each of the Senators from your State, urging each Senator to vote for ratification of the Kellogg treaty and to vote against the 16 ship naval building program.

(3) Letters to Senator William E. Borah and to Senator Claude Swanson, leading Republican and Democratic members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, stating your wishes about the Kellogg treaty and Naval Bill.

Prosperity in the Cotton Mills

The average hourly earnings for all employes in the cotton manufacturing industry of the United States in 1928 are 32.4 cents and the average full-time earnings per week amount to $17.30. This astounding fact was taken from a recent report made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics after an investigation of the wages of 49,861 males and 38,145 females in 158 representative cotton mills in eleven states. If a worker is employed steadily throughout the year at the average rate, his annual earnings are just a few cents less than $900. A considerable percentage necessarily falls far short of the average. If we examine the wages of men and women separately, we find that the average annual earnings for men varied from $758.16 in the state with the lowest rates to $1,275.04 in the highest state. Average annual earnings for women ran from $617.76 to $1,056.12.

To understand the significance of these figures one must compare them with estimates of the cost of living. For example, the National Industrial Conference Board recently estimated that the average amount required to maintain a fair American standard of living for a family of four was $1,556.32, or $656.72 more than the average earnings of all employes in the cotton manufacturing industry of the United States.

The Debacle

We do not wish to seem unsportsmanlike or ungenerous to Herbert Hoover. In our campaign comment we were obliged to differentiate sharply between the Hoover of the years prior to 1920 and the stand-pat politician he has appeared since then. If he entirely escapes his obligations to the bigots, reactionaries, and political crooks who joined the sincere and high-minded many behind him during the campaign, and whom he did not seriously attempt to shake off, it will be something no other beneficiary of such forces has been able to do in the presidency. That he may do so is our wish, that he may reveal the pre-politician Hoover in whom ran streaks of liberalism, that he may happily disappoint our honest fears. If such a thing should come to pass, we should be quick to rejoice, eager to pay him tribute. If his campaign utterances on preparedness and prosperity are belied by his presidential acts, if his campaign silences are transformed into progressive policies, we shall hope not to be stingy with applause. No signs, we are forced to confess, actually point in that direction.

The election was a November flood. Or a slaughter. Nothing is to be gained by blinking the fact that the supporters of radical, liberal, or even mildly progressive ideas received a terriffic drubbing. While no person can say with scientific exactitude which factors were most potent in the Republican victory, it is at least clear

that the American people were not sufficiently concerned about water power, world peace, civil liberties, international fraternity, a new economic order, to take their votes away from the party least interested in realistic progress on these issues. The defeat of the Democrats was decisive, and, in our opinion, is not adequately to be explained solely on grounds of dry and anti-Catholic feeling. If the bulk of the people's water-power rights are not given away during the next eight years, if foreign trade is not promoted to the danger point of international ill-will, if materialism does not run rampant through the official acts of the ruling party, it will be because Mr. Hoover contradicts in action the major positions he assumed in his campaign.

The Socialist vote of half a million or better is encouraging in view of the expected attrition from the proclaimed progressivism of Governor Smith, and exceeded the prophecy of Socialist leaders. It augurs well for the future creation of a new party alignment. Yet it is still far too small to exert any appreciable influence as a brake on the reactionary trend of the major parties. As a demand for change it speaks less loudly than the 900,000 and more votes for the imprisoned Debs in 1920.

However, let not courage be corroded with despair. Defeat must be expected by good causes; and for that matter, many a defeated cause has wielded nevertheless a tremendous force on the events of history. In the election there is a lesson, we believe, for the numerous people of vision who once again yielded to "practicality" and voted for Governor Smith so as not to throw their votes away. To be defeated in such a manner accomplished nothing. On the other hand, to be defeated when voting for a true opposition, in voting for conscience, in voting for principle, in voting to build the basis of a new party, defeat can never totally destroy accomplishment. For four years it is the custom of American liberals to adopt toward the government a critical attitude nearly identical with that which the Socialists voiced in specific terms during the campaign; but when election day rolls around, it is their habit to try just once more for immediate victory. They won victory in 1916 by electing Wilson to keep us out of war only to be plunged by his leadership into the conflict; they won defeat in 1920 by dividing their "practical" vote between Cox and Harding; and although they piled up nearly 5,000,000 votes for La Follette in 1924 in a campaign unsupported by organization or money, they became tired radicals overnight and failed to carry on.

Neither from victory nor defeat have they seemed able to learn that if our political life is ever to be rejuvenated, the task will demand patient, self-sacrificing, creative labor—especially in party organization —over a long period. The longer the building is postponed through the quadrennial lure of speedy partial gains, so much longer will the present stalemate continue. Already *The Nation* is hinting that Franklin D. Roosevelt may be a hope for 1932, or that liberal Democrats (who wouldn't even back La Follette!) will form a new liberal party, and *The New Republic* is prompt to lend itself as an example of the between-election liberal critic, declaring that one trouble with Smith's progressivism was that he started too late, and that "means of continuous popular education between campaigns is the progressive need of the moment." Correct; but the need of the moment on election day and during the campaign was a little more principle and infinitely less short-sighted trust in a party desperately striving to make itself as much like the Republican Party as possible.

In Washington the balance of power wielded by progressive Senators and Representatives has been lessened; but these men still speak for millions of citizens the country over. They too, however, have shown scant interest in the creation of a long-term program to be followed systematically.

Politics is not the only method toward a new social order. Yet it is vitally important; it can not be neglected. And the only political way of hope lies in the long view, in the long plan, in the long endeavor.

Factors in the Election

Southern drys voted for Smith the wet candidate in order to preserve their supremacy over colored citizens through the Democratic party.

Northern Negroes voted for Smith to rebuke Hoover's Klan support.

Bishop Cannon and his followers voted for Hoover because Smith is wet and because colored officials employ white stenographers in New York.

Josephus Daniels and Senator Carter Glass worked and voted for Smith, though they are drys, because they are Democrats and wanted to rebuke Republican corruption.

Nicholas Murray Butler, though a wet, voted for Hoover because they are fellow Republicans.

William Gibbs McAdoo, ardent dry, voted for Smith because they are fellow Democrats.

Senator Norris voted for Smith to protect America against the power trust.

The Scripps-Howard newspapers also fear the power trust but voted for Hoover because he is a liberal.

The Klan voted for Hoover to save America from the Pope.

Catholics like the Fisher brothers voted for Hoover to insure prosperity.

Jane Addams, world-famous social worker, voted for Hoover as humanitarian and prohibitionist.

Lillian Wald, scarcely less famous social worker, voted for Smith because of his social liberalism.

Good people in New Jersey voted for Hoover in order to rebuke Democratic boss Frank Hague.
Good people in Pennsylvania voted for Smith to rebuke Republican boss Vare.
Internationalists voted for Hoover because of his knowledge of international affairs.
Internationalists voted for Smith because Hoover's international idealism seems to have been lost.
Reformers voted for Smith to rebuke Republican corruption.
Reformers voted for Hoover to rebuke Tammany corruption.
George Peek, recognized farm leader, voted for Smith to insure farm relief.
Senators Nye, Howell, and Brookhart, also recognized farm leaders, voted for Hoover to insure farm relief.
Some Jews voted for Hoover to rebuke the racial bigotry of Democrats.
Some Jews voted for Smith to rebuke the religious bigotry of Republicans.
Protestants voted for Hoover because Smith is a Catholic.
Catholics voted for Smith because he is a Catholic.
A few Protestants voted for Smith to prove that they are not bigoted.
A few Catholics voted for Hoover to prove that they are not bigoted.
Labor leader John L. Lewis voted for Hoover to insure continued prosperity.
Many labor leaders voted for Smith to secure participation in prosperity.
Felix Frankfurter and other professors voted for Smith and thought he has a "mind free for new experience and responsive to its directions."
The Christian Century and other Christians voted against Smith and thought his mind representative of "medieval Latin mentality."
Some Scandinavians of the Northwest voted against Smith because he is a Catholic.
Some Scandinavians of the Northwest voted for Smith to rebuke "Yankee" arrogance.
Some school teachers voted against Smith because he said "to my way of thinking."
Some school teachers voted for Smith because he has a sense of humor.
Good people voted for Hoover because his rise from the farm to the White House is the traditional pilgrimage of presidents.
Good people voted for Smith because his rise from the city streets is a new kind of success story.
Some Westerners voted for Hoover because they fear Tammany.
Some Westerners voted for Smith because they fear Wall Street.
Some Tammany men voted against Smith because he is alleged to have "high hatted" them.
Some people voted for Smith because they heard Senator Curtis.
Some people voted for Hoover because they heard Senator Robinson.
Some people voted for Hoover because they do not like a brown derby.
Some people voted for Smith because they do not like a rotund face.

American Individualism

Never has the economic philosophy which dominates the American business community been more clearly stated than in Mr. Hoover's New York address. It was the only address in which the President-elect as a candidate dealt profoundly with the issues of American political life and revealed him as the perfect spokesman of reactionary prejudices. Here we have the kind of individualism which arose in England in the early and middle period of the nineteenth century, which in the whole of Europe has been greatly qualified and which, even when qualified, is being increasingly challenged, but which in America is still the dominant philosophy of the nation.

In the name of this individualism every kind of socialized action is branded and condemned as state socialism and it is naïvely assumed that the future of American prosperity depends upon the perpetuation of its traditional economic prejudices without any serious modification. Yet even the most casual observer must be able to see that in the modern industrial state the principle of freedom degenerates into the right of the strong to exploit the weak. Industry organizes in ever larger and larger aggregates of capital structure, and its comparative freedom of interference from the state simply means that its natural lusts are increasingly gratified at the expense of labor and the consuming public.

A generation ago the conscience of the community reacted against this menace through a plethora of anti-trust laws; but anti-trust laws are obviously anachronistic. Modern industry makes socialized action inevitable and every return to individualism through legal pressure is bound to be artificial. Whatever restraints still rested upon industry because of the laws conceived by a past generation have been practically removed by the kind of guidance which the department of commerce has given the American business community under Mr. Hoover. All this has been done in the name of and has undoubtedly resulted in increased efficiency. But unfortunately the laboring class and the consuming public are left without weapons to meet the anti-social ambitions of a profit-mad industrial system. The efficacy of labor's economic weapons has been greatly diminished by the very productivity of industry; for it has created a surplusage of labor and thus destroyed the power of the

strike weapon. Meanwhile the traditional individualism of the American public prevents it from fashioning modes of restraint in the interest of the consumer and the laborer.

The evils of this individualism are bad enough when it affects only the industry which derives its profits from the high productivity of the machine; but when it is applied to industry which exploits natural resources that belong to all the people by an even clearer deed than does the wealth created by modern technological achievement, the results are positively immoral. The resources of coal and oil have been definitely alienated, and generations of struggle will be required before the people will regain the rights in these resources which are naturally theirs. Water power is a newly discovered resource, and one might have expected that previous experience would have warned our people against political doctrines which sanction the alienation of their rights in this resource. But evidently the traditions of a century are too deeply rooted to be modified even by the bitterest experience and the most compelling logic. Thus men bear burdens too grievous to be born and suffer injustices from which there is a clear way of escape because they lack the social intelligence to fashion political instruments equal to the social problems created by their technological achievements.

Anachronistic as is the political philosophy of Mr. Hoover, it is the very force which made his election inevitable. It does not fit the facts but it does fit the temper of the American people complacently enjoying their middle-class paradise from which the farmer and the laborer, particularly the unskilled laborer, has been excluded. It is quite probable that Mr. Hoover will give the American people a brilliant administration upon the basis of this philosophy; but if he carries out his policy in strict conformity to his philosophy, he will hasten the day of political awakening. Outraged facts have a way of avenging themselves and the philosophy is not in accord with the political and economic facts of modern civilization.

Maneuvers in the Southern Pacific

The American Navy plans to hold maneuvers in the Southern Pacific in February of 1929. Over a hundred ships and 30,000 officers and men will be involved in the enterprise. The ships will be anchored in Valparaiso bay. Already the Chilian public opinion is reacting unfavorably to this latest venture in goodwill. For one thing the people of Chile do not relish the idea of being forced to entertain the thirty thousand men at considerable government expense and with the inevitable debauchery which results when that number of men gain shore leave. What is more important is that the South Americans do not like the idea of this North American giant flexing his biceps in front of their doorsteps. He may say that he is coming to pay a friendly call but he seems too anxious to take his dinner coat off and display his remarkable sinews. Reliable advices establish that the visit of the navy will probably result in a new wave of resentment against America. Can the navy give any good reason why these maneuvers should be held on the doorsteps of Latin-America at this time? Can the venture be construed in any other terms than as a gesture of overlordship over the whole American continent? How far will America get in the enterprise of peace if she continues to sign peace documents with one hand and to fondle the revolver trigger with the other?

One Way to Abolish Slums

Members of trade unions in New York City have erected cooperative apartments for 1,488 families and are planning a much more extensive building program. An elaborate report on this significant development of trade union activities has just been published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor in Washington.

One of the most important of these projects has been sponsored by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the most progressive and far-seeing labor organization in this country. Six large apartments, housing a total of 303 families and costing $1,825,000, have already been completed. Every room faces on the street or on an interior garden. One of the buildings has an auditorium seating about 500 persons, with a large stage, for lectures, plays and moving pictures. There is a library, a common music room, a cooperative nursery, and a common tea room. Indoor and outdoor playgrounds are being provided. Milk, eggs, ice, and coal are bought on a cooperative basis. Electricity is purchased wholesale for 304 families through one central meter, thus reducing rates. A cooperative store, a meat market, and a fruit and vegetable store have been started.

Each tenant must pay $500 per room, which is about one-third of the building cost. In addition he must pay $11 per room per month, for clearing off mortgages, upkeep and repairs. As mortgages are paid off, rents will be reduced accordingly.

A few years ago the clothing workers were among the worst sweated and poorest paid of all trades. By thorough organization, wise leadership, and a daring spirit the Amalgamated is helping to transform an entire industry and is creating an unparalleled breadth of social vision among its members.

Brotherhood or Things?

A *Christmas Query*

ZONA GALE

CHRISTMAS Week came.

Cities by thousands made preparation. Great shops took on vast cargoes of silk and precious things and seemed ready to sail about, distributing gifts to the town, and thought better of it, and let folks come in numbers to them to pay toll for what they took. Banks opened their doors and poured out, now a little trickling stream of pay envelopes, now a torrent of green and gold. Flower stalls drew tribute from a million pots of earth where miracles had been done. Pastry counters, those mock commissariats, delicately masking as servants to necessity, made ready their pretty pretences to nutrition. The woods came moving in—acres of living green, taken in their sleep, their roots left faithful to a tryst with the sap, their tops summoned to bear an hybrid fruitage. From cathedrals rose the voices of children now singing little carols and hymns in praise of the Christchild, now speaking little verses in praise of the saint, Nicholas, now clamouring for little new possessions.

HITHER and yonder in every city the grown townsfolk ran. The most had lists of names—Grace, Margaret, Laura, Alice, Miriam, John, Philip, Father, Mother—beautiful names and of rich portent, so that, remembering the time, one would have said that these were entered there with some import of special comradeship, of being face to face, of having realized in little what will some day be true in large. But on looking closer, the lists were found to have quite other connotations: as, Grace, bracelet; Margaret, spangled scarf; Laura, chafing-dish, Philip, smoking-set; Father (Memo: Ask mother what she thinks he'd like). And every name, it seemed, stood for some bestowal of new property, mostly of luxuries, and chiefly of luxuries of decoration. And the minds of the buying adults were like lakes played upon by clouds and storm birds and lightning, and, to be sure, many stars—but all in unutterable confusion.

Also from the cargo-laden shops there came other voices in thousands, but these were mostly answers. And when one, understanding Christmas, listened to hear what part in it these behind the counter played, he heard from them no voice of sharing in the theory of peace, or even of truce, but instead—

"Two a yard and double width. Jewelry is in the Annex. Did you want three pairs of each? Veils and neckwear three aisles over. Leather, glassware, baskets, ribbons, down the store beyond the notions. Toys and dolls are in the basement—toys and dolls are in the basement. Jewelry is in the Annex. . . ."

So that a great part of the town seemed some strong chorus of invocation to new possessions.

But there were other voices. Whole areas of every town lay perforce within the days of Christmas Week—it must have been so, for there is only one way of birth and breath and death, one source of tears, one functioning for laughter. But to these reaches of the town the calendar was like another thing, for though it was upon them in name, its very presence was withdrawn. In those ill-smelling stairways and lofts there was little to divulge the imminence of anything other than themselves. And wherever some echo of Christmas Week had crept, the wistfulness or the lust was for possession also; but here one could understand its insistence. So here the voices said only, "I wish—I wish," and "I choose this—and this," at windows; or "If I had back my nickel. . . ." "Don't you go expecting nothink!" And over these went the whir of machinery, beat of treadles, throb of engines, or the silence of forced idleness, or of the disease of dereliction. It was a time of many pagan observances, as when some were decked in precious stuffs and some were thrown to lions.

To all these in the towns Christmas Week came. And of them all not many stood silent and looked Christmas Week in the face. Yet it is a human experience that none is meant to die without sharing. For the season is the symbol of what happens to folk if they claim it.

CHRISTMAS is the time of withdrawal of most material life. It is the time when nature subtracts the externals, hides from man the phenomena of even her evident processes. Left alone, his thought turns inward and outward—which is to say, it lays hold upon the flowing force so slightly externalized in himself. If he finds in his own being a thousand obstructions, a thousand persons—dogs, sorcerers, whore-mongers—he will try to escape from them all back to the externals. But if he finds there a channel which the substance of being is using, he will be no stranger, but a familiar, with himself. Only when the channel has been long cleared, when there has left it all consciousness of striving, of self in any form, only when he finds himself empty, ready, immaculate, will he have the divine adventure. For it is then that in him the spirit of God will have its birth, then that

he will first understand his own nature . . . the nature of being.

Then the turn of the year comes in, the year begins to mount. Birth is in it, growth is in it, Spring is in it. Sometime, away back in beginnings, they knew this. They knew that the time of the Winter solstice is in some strange fashion the high moment of the year, as the beginning of new activity in nature and in the gods. They solemnized the return of the fiery sun wheel; they traced in those solstice days the operations on earth of Odin and Berchta. They knew in themselves a thing they could not name. And when the supreme experience took place in Christ, they made the one experience typify the other, and became conscious of the divine nature of this nativity. So, by the illuminati, the prophets, the adepts, the time that followed was yearly set aside—forty days of dwelling within the temple of self, forty days of reverence for being, of consciousness of new birth. Then the emergence, then the apotheosis of expression typifying and typified by Spring—the time when bursting, pressing life almost breaks bounds, when birth and the impulse to birth are in every form of life, without and within. These festivals are not arbitrary in date. They grow out of the universal experience.

IS it not, then, cause for stupefaction that this time of "divine bestowal" should have become so physical a thing? From the ancient perception, to have slipped into a sense of annual social comradeship and goodwill and peace was natural and fine—to live in the little what will some day be true in the large. But from this to have plunged down into a time of frantic physical bestowals, of "present trading," of lists of Grace and Margaret and Philip, of teeming shops with hunting and hunted creatures within, of sacrificial trees and beasts, of a sovereign sense of good for me and mine and a shameless show of Lord and Lady Bountiful . . . how can that have come about, how can the great festival have been so dishonored?

Not all dishonored, for within it is its own vitality which nothing can dishonor. Through all the curious variations which it receives at our hands, something shines and sings: self-giving, joy giving, a vast, dim upflickering on humanity of what this thing really is that it seeks to observe, this thing that grips men so that no matter what they are about, they will drop it at the touch of the gong and turn to some expression, however crooked and thwarted, of the real spirit of the time. If in war, then bayonets are stacked and holly-wreathed, and candles stuck on each point! If at sea, some sailor climbs out on the bowsprit with a wreath of green. If on the western plains, a turkey wishbone for target will make the sport, at fifty paces; if at home, some great extravagance or some humble gift or some poignant wish will point the day; if at church, then mass and carol; in certain hearts, reverence,—everywhere the time takes hold of folks and receives whatever of greatness or grotesqueness they choose to give it. . . . So, too, the actual and vital experience which it brings to humanity is universal, is offered with cosmic regularity, cannot be escaped. Through all the tumult of the time, Christmas Week and the time that lies near to it is always waiting to claim its own, to take to itself those who will not be deceived, who see in the stupendous yearly pageant only the usual spectacle of humanity trying to say divine things in terms of things physical, because the time for the universal expression is not yet come.

WHEN that time comes, . . . when the time of the worship of *things* shall be past; when the tribal sense of holiday shall have given place to the family sense and that family shall be mankind; when shall never be seen the anomaly of celebrating in a glorification of little family tables—whose crumbs fall to those without—the birth of him who preached brotherhood and the mockery of observing with wanton spending the birth of him who had not where to lay his head; when the rudiments of divine perception, of self-perception, of social perception, shall have grown to their next estate; when the area of consciousness shall be extended yet farther toward the outermost; when that new knowledge with which the air is charged shall let men begin to know what he is . . . when that time comes, they will look back with utmost wonder at our uncouth gropings to note and honor something whose import we so obscurely discern; but perhaps, too, with wonder that so much of human love and divining should shine for us through the mists we make. *From* Christmas *by Zona Gale. Copyright 1912 by the Macmillan Company.*

To Jesus on His Birthday

FOR this your mother sweated in the cold,
For this you bled upon the bitter tree:
A yard of tinsel ribbon bought and sold;
A paper wreath; a day at home for me.
The merry bells ring out, the people kneel;
Up goes the man of God before the crowd;
With voice of honey and with eyes of steel
He drones your humble gospel to the proud.
Nobody listens. Less than the wind that blows
Are all your words to us you died to save.
O Prince of Peace! O Sharon's dewy Rose!
How mute you lie within your vaulted grave.
The stone the angel rolled away with tears
Is back upon your mouth these thousand years.

EDNA ST. VINCENT MILLAY

(From The Buck in the Snow, *published by Harper and Brothers. Copyright 1928 by the author. Reprinted by permission.)*

Would Jesus Be a Churchman Today?*

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

SINCE there is no doctrine and policy—religious, economic and political—for which the authority of Jesus has not been claimed at some time or other, one must overcome a certain sense of futility before essaying the task of setting the ideal as it emerges in the life of Jesus in juxtaposition to the social and religious facts of the contemporary world. While the task is in a sense futile, since personal prejudices are bound to color both the picture of Jesus and that of the present world, the very fact that Jesus is still the criterion by which so many values are tested and the perspective from which they are viewed encourages the hope that continued efforts to judge contemporary facts in the light of the kind of religious idealism which Jesus incarnates may not be entirely vain. If such an effort is undertaken with the understanding that we must avoid not only the temptation to sanctify personal prejudices by the moral authority of Jesus, but also the temptation to make incidental and casual attitudes and circumstances of Jesus' life unduly authoritative for all situations, the undertaking may not be fruitless.

If we want to know whether Jesus would be a churchman today it is necessary first of all to inquire into his relationship to the church of his own time. The most striking fact which emerges from that inquiry is that Jesus never severed his connection with the church of his day. The last evening of his life was spent in observing the most sacred rite of the religion of his fathers, though, significantly enough, he gave the rite a new content which filled it with a meaning that supplanted its old significance in the memory of his disciples. It became the symbol of their continued spiritual fellowship with him. If he rejected the dogmas and traditions of his religion, he was careful to point out that he did it in the interest of a higher loyalty to the real meaning of the traditions. In spite of this insistence, his attitude sometimes involved a clear break with the tradition, as in the case of Sabbath observance or the divorce laws. Jesus' attitude toward the traditions and dogmas of his church might be characterized as one of critical loyalty. He neither accepted nor rejected; he selected and interpreted. This attitude did not save him from conflict with the leaders of his church; but they rejected him and not he them.

One wonders whether there is not a real clue to effective policy in this attitude of Jesus for the progressive forces of our own day who have become impatient with the weaknesses and limitations of the church. Those who temper their own deepest convictions for the sake of loyalty to the institution are clearly on dangerous ground. The church is so frequently the voice of economic prejudice and the instrument of racial and political arrogance that any individual who is emancipated from these social defects must disassociate himself from the policy and program of the church in as far as it is based upon prejudice and issues in racial arrogance. Loyalty to an institution as an end in itself is clearly one of the attitudes most dangerous to moral values. It is responsible for much of the moral impotence not only of the church but of other institutions of the ideal. But if he merely leaves the church, convinced that its reformation is impossible, he not only leaves the church in the hands of its most uncritical devotees who will inevitably increase its limitations; he will also fail to provide its progressive forces with a necessary challenge and its unthinking mass with the opportunity of discovering the real intent and meaning of its common enterprise.

No one can deal effectively today with the ethical problems of modern civilization without creating some tension between himself and the organized church. Sometimes such a tension must lead to complete severance of relations; but if it must come, it is always better that the community rather than the individual assume responsibility for the break. Such a course is more difficult for the individual but more wholesome and redemptive for the community. There will be instances, no doubt, where the church lacks the energy to deal in any way with its minority and where courageous action on the part of the individual may be the only way of awakening the church. Yet on the whole the rule seems to be a good one.

THE relation of Jesus to the church of his fathers is not his only relationship to a religious community and does not furnish us with the only clue to his socio-religious strategy. He had a circle of disciples. While he did not found a church in the sense that traditional orthodoxy assumes, he did nevertheless organize a religious community which consisted not only of the small circle of the twelve disciples but included other followers. While this community lacked the cohesion of an organized church it was more than a mere group of followers.

Even if we are extremely critical of the passages in which Jesus asserts his personal authority, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that he called for per-

* Second of a series of twelve provocative articles by the editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW, discussing *Would Jesus Be a Christian Today?* Copyright, 1928, THE WORLD TOMORROW. Reproduction permitted up to 300 words.

sonal loyalty to himself even though he discounted loyalty which was not informed by devotion to his cause. He wanted no devotion, no crying of "Lord, Lord" without submission to divine will; nevertheless he did suggest that discipleship should include the element of personal loyalty, should be "for my sake." The reason for this emphasis was obviously the appreciation of the psychological fact that a person is a more potent symbol around which a fellowship of the ideal may rally than any abstract statement of the ideal. If this fact was not consciously thought out, the Messianic conception certainly lent itself to the psychological necessities and the result was a community which was more closely knit together than any ordinary group of disciples, which was strengthened rather than weakened by the final tragedy of his life, and which, though not a church, did supply the foundations for the later developments that issued in an organized church.

Even if this interpretation of the facts should be challenged, it remains axiomatic that any cause, ideal, or principle must ultimately become incarnated in a community as well as in individuals if it is to influence the course of human history. If Jesus had been as completely individualistic, not to say anarchistic, as he is sometimes portrayed, the religious and moral ideals which he incarnated could have become potent in history only as they were championed by and illustrated in the life of some community. No gospel can exist without a church, no cause can survive without a community. But that does not change the fact that every community is tempted to betray the ideals which are its *raison d'être* and every church is inclined to be disobedient to its heavenly vision.

COMMUNITIES once organized, no matter how high the ideals which inspired them, develop a law in their members which wars against the law that is in their minds. A religious community is a social organism and as such generates imperial ambitions; anxious to grow and prosper, it inclines to the dilution of its principles that it may win the spiritually mediocre majority. But even if this were not the case, degenerating tendencies would inevitably make themselves felt in its life. Even if it attracted only such members as were sincerely interested in its ideal, it could not wholly prevent the adhesion of followers who entertained its ideal without fully understanding the implications of its principles.

Furthermore its very growth in numbers would necessitate a coöperative technique far less ideal than the democracy of the small community. Small communities can indulge in pure democracies, while large ones must be satisfied with representative government. Homogeneous social units can maintain a large measure of freedom, while heterogeneous states resort to autocracy and coercion to save themselves from anarchy. A Saint Francis of Assisi was inevitably defeated in his desire for a pure democracy of the ideal by a Cardinal Ugolino who was sincerely devoted to his cause but whose devotion was qualified by other loyalties, and by a Brother Elias in whom the commonsense of the statesman and social engineer balanced the sublime madness of saintliness.

The Catholic church resorted to an autocratic papacy to save itself from international anarchy and was defeated by the Graeco-Roman world when it conquered the world. The Protestant reformation revolted against the compromise of Christianity with the Latin world and resulted in a new compromise between Christianity and the peculiar prejudices and limitations of the Teutonic world. These compromises are inevitable but they are also dangerous because religion tends to sanctify without seriously modifying the essential facts of the economic and political order.

THE most serious weakness of current Protestantism is that it is enmeshed with the peculiar prejudices not only of the Nordic peoples but of their commercial middle classes. It is thus a parochial religion living under the illusion that it has an absolute and unconditioned message for its day. Imagine Jesus the member of a church in which bishops strive frantically for the victory of a political party that expresses the unrepentant greed of our American plutocracy, and appeal for support for their candidate on the ground that he is not inimical to race segregation "in the good old Southern way"! Never did the racial and economic prejudices of American Protestantism reveal themselves more clearly than in the recent campaign. Here was the Nordic majority rising in arms against the Slavic and Latin immigrants and using as their weapon the political party which expresses the desires and lusts of commercialism without qualification. Of course, the dominant motives were hid under the decent veil of loyalty to a moral ideal—prohibition. The pharisees had moral ideals too. Did they not try to stone the sinful woman? A disquieting fact about the modern church is that it often seems more closely related to the pharisees than to the mind of its Lord.

Compromise is inevitable but it is not lovely. Sometimes the ideals of religion really qualify the brutal facts of political and economic life. If they do, it is well not to be too cynical about the qualifications which they suffer in their necessary commerce with the inertia of human society. Sometimes they qualify the facts so little that they become only a sacred cloak for what is essentially unlovely. No one can ever be quite certain whether the one or the other formula is the true description of present facts. In some respect or other both descriptions are true.

TO ask the question whether Jesus would be a churchman today has sense only if we mean to inquire whether those who are anxious to follow in the footsteps of Jesus can be churchmen today. No final answer can be made to that question simply because the complex facts do not definitely reveal how much the compromise which we call Protestantism (or Catholicism for that matter) is a justification for or a modification of the unethical prejudices and moral limitations of our commercial civilization. If churchmen are too certain about the answer which ought to be made to that question, they would do well to remember that an increasingly large number of ethical idealists have found the limitations of the church insufferable. One of the greatest leaders of political idealism in Europe, reared in a pious home, has declared his conviction that to join the church would mean for him "to crucify the Lord anew."

More than it realizes, the modern church has become the instrument of parochial interests. The church has partially succeeded in reclaiming the mind of this generation; but it is still far from winning its conscience. The men who possess the most sensitive insight into the moral problems of modern society are either restive in the fold of the church or they are definitely alienated. Previous training and religious and cultural background will inevitably determine our judgment of and our reaction to the limitations of the modern church.

If one has seen the wholesome influence of Christian ideals upon the more intimate relationships of men, it is difficult to be as cynical in evaluating the church as are those who have only an outside perspective and who can see only the bankruptcy of the church in dealing with the larger social issues of the day. Yet the church can not permanently maintain itself as a community of the ideal by generating petty decencies in a brutal society. Religion can not live only in the interstices of modern society. If Christian idealism can not seriously qualify the racial and economic attitudes of modern men it will not finally justify itself in modern civilization. Whatever its weaknesses, religion is developing increasing force in influencing and modifying racial attitudes. But no impartial social observer can deny that its effect upon economic behavior is practically nil. It is that weakness which has alienated the best conscience of our generation.

Perhaps for those who are interested chiefly in a more ethical organization of our economic society the final answer to the question whether they shall try to use the church as an instrument of their efforts must depend not upon an analysis of the limitations and virtues of the present church but upon an analysis of the resources of religion, particularly their own religion, for the solution of ethical problems which modern society faces. If they regard religion itself as inimical to the highest ethical values, or if they depend upon no ethical values in their contemplated reorganization society, they will not bother with the church. But like the present writer, they hold the limitations organized religion in dealing with the ethical proble of our society to be historical and specific rather th constitutional and inevitable, they will not abandon t church but will try to make it an effective agency social redemption. If religion is an ethical force at it is a social force, and some kind of church must taken into the reckoning when we plan for a bet world.

Educating for World Citizenship

CLAORA E. BELL

AS you enter the main corridor of the administ tion building at Ohio Wesleyan Universi Delaware, Ohio, you see on the wall a large wood case, with glass doors. In this case is a map mount on a sheet of fibre board, four by eight feet in si showing the two hemispheres with their political di sions. Twenty-seven small, colored electric lam mark the more important countries. They are wir in a way that makes it possible to light those wh are just then the center of international events. Fr one to five bulbs are usually lighted.

The purpose of this Significant World Events M is to acquaint Ohio Wesleyan students with the tre of international affairs, and thus serve as an impet toward acquiring a more thorough knowledge of t field of International Relations.

Some of the students complained that the numero activities of college life made it almost impossible keep posted on current events. The World Eve Map was suggested. A joint committee of the You Men's and Young Women's Christian Associatio worked out the details. A year ago last Septemb it began to function. A joint committee made a stracts of newspapers and periodicals, which were s mitted to a member of the faculty for approval a these digests were then carefully typed and placed the map.

This year a member of the Political Science facu has not only reviewed the articles submitted, but a made a list of all the important current events. this way, the material which is posted is trustwort and of the utmost importance.

Many students and professors were at first skepti about predigested information. But the map has n proved its worth and is gaining daily in popularity.

Almost any time of the day you will see a gro of students reading the latest news. This is an couraging sight to those who have spent much thoug and time endeavoring to interest college people of day in international affairs.

Minimum Wage and Family Allowances

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

DURING the decade which preceded the world war, the doctrine of the living wage came to be accepted by nearly all who had the welfare of the working class at heart. Wages were declared to be less than a decent minimum in such a large percentage of cases because the bargaining power of the workers was weak and not because of possible low productivity. Only a handful were thought to be so inefficient as not to earn the amount necessary to maintain them, and it was deemed better that these either be forced out of industry and then given special treatment or be granted permits to work for less than the minimum, than that they be allowed to drag the whole group down to their level of earnings. Collective bargaining and legislative action were therefore welcomed as means of protecting the workers against their own cut-throat competition for jobs and of ensuring, in the expressive phrase of Beatrice and Sidney Webb, a "national minimum" below which the wage earners could not be driven.

Such was the theory that caused minimum wage legislation to spread from Australia and New Zealand to England and even to the United States and Canada, while at the same time it furnished the theoretical justification for the advancing movement of trade unionism. In its basic features, it still seems as fundamentally sound as it seemed fifteen years ago.

Nor does the question as to what commodities and services shall be regarded as constituting the minimum standard of life constitute an insuperable obstacle. Even though many of our ideas as to what is necessary are purely conventional, it is nevertheless quite possible to work out physical, social and moral minima for any given community. The work of Atwater and his followers has shown that an adult man at moderately heavy labor needs daily food with an approximate calorific content of 3,500, and similar scales have been worked out for both sexes at varying ages and types of work. The newer knowledge of dietetics has added other qualities, such as vitamins, etc., which are necessary, and with these in mind minimum food budgets may be drawn up and their costs computed. Similarly moral minima for housing may be agreed upon since none would contend that it is well for children of opposite sexes or for children and parents to share the same bedroom. Clothing and incidentals are more difficult to determine but the work of Ogburn, Beyer, and the Australian Commitee on the Basic Wage has shown that this can be done with substantial agreement.

The point on which the pre-war theory of the living wage has, however, proved incomplete has been that of the number of dependents which each worker is assumed to support. For women, the assumption has generally been that the female worker is only compelled to maintain herself and that she is to do this outside the family circle. In the case of men it was assumed, ever since Seebohm Rowntree's famous book on Poverty, that they should be given enough to support a wife and three dependent children. This figure was adopted because it was thought to be the "divine average." Each fertile marriage needs on the whole to have 3.1 children in order to keep the population constant, and much quoted American statistics for 1890 showed the average number of members "per household" to be then 5.0.

Now when the post-war drive of labor for a living wage progressed, it was found in one country after another that virtually all the product of industry would be absorbed, and in some cases more than absorbed, in paying to all adult male workers a sum sufficient to maintain this family of five. This was demonstrated by Knibbs for Australia, Bowley and Miss Rathbone for England, and by my own studies as of 1919 for the United States.[1] Under the pressure of facts, the practicability of the universal demand for a family of five wage collapsed.

THE real reason for this collapse was, however, the fact that the family of five did not represent the typical number dependent upon the male wage earners for support.

In 1921 the English and Australian Censuses added a question as to the number dependent upon occupied adult males and the results, which were almost identical for the two countries, showed that 27 per cent were unmarried and hence certainly did not have four others dependent upon them; 24 per cent were married but had no children under 14 years; 17 per cent had one child; 13 per cent had two children; 9 per cent three children and 10 per cent more than three children. The so-called "standard" family of five was thus found to be characteristic of less than a tenth of the wage earners, for 81 per cent of the workers actually had smaller families, while a considerable group of them had larger. Instead of the number of children averaging three per family, it was found that the average was approximately 1.2. Although most families might pass through the stage of having three children dependent upon them, this was characteristic at any one time of only a very small fraction. From such statistics as

[1] Because of the subsequent great increase in production it is much more possible for industry now to pay the family of five wage than it was then.

are available the same situation seems to be substantially true for the United States.

It has been this loading of the requested wages-bills with fictitious wives and children which has made it seemingly impossible for industry to pay to all enough to maintain a family of five. Thus in 1920 there were 28.2 million adult males who were gainfully occupied in the United States. To have given each enough to support five persons would have meant providing maintenance for 141 million persons, whereas as a matter of fact there were then only 106 millions in the country. Nine million of these were gainfully employed women or juveniles over 16 years who were at least earning enough to support themselves. There were, therefore, at the very most only 97 millions in all to be supported by these men and to have paid a family of five wage to all would have meant loading industry with the burden of 45 million non-existent dependents. This would have absorbed most of the product of industry, leaving but a relatively scanty allowance for differential wages and for reinvestment.

Moreover while it would have given to bachelors and to all those without children a great deal more than was needed to maintain themselves upon what is agreed by most budgetary experts to be a minimum of health and decency, it would not have provided adequate maintenance for children in those families where there were more than three. While these formed only a small percentage of the total number of families, the percentage of the *children* included in them was very high, amounting in England to approximately 38 per cent of the total. It should never be forgotten that the burden of providing for the oncoming generation is borne at any one time by less than one-half of the employed population. The family of five is therefore not merely fallacious as an average but to use it as the standard of payment would result in still keeping approximately two-fifths of the children in need at the very time that it would be pouring large surpluses into the pockets of the young bachelors who do not need the extra sums as badly.

BECAUSE of these reasons, a movement has rapidly developed during the last decade in various portions of the world which aims to adapt the minimum family income to the size of the family. If we hold to the belief that all should be furnished with at least a minimum, then it is only common sense that a family of five needs more than a bachelor and that a family of seven in turn needs more than a family of five.

There are three principal means of which such payments may be paid, namely: (1) by industry, (2) by the state, (3) by a combination of the two, with perhaps contributions from the workers as well as from the employers. The most notable example of the first method is France, where children's allowances totalling one and a half billion francs annually are paid by private enterprises and government services employin four million workers. In Belgium nearly 750,00 workmen and officials come under the system. I Germany about 1,200,000 workers are also covered b family allowance provisions. While the amounts o the allowances are small, it would naturally be expecte that their payment would lead the employers to di criminate against giving employment to workmen wit dependent children. Who, it will be queried, will the give employment to a man with five children whe there is a bachelor available? This danger would b real were it not for the development of equalizatio funds (*caisses de compensation*) amongst the Frenc and Belgian employers, which distribute the expense o the allowances over the group of members as a whol instead of its falling upon the particular employer o the workman with children. The working of thes funds, of which there are no less than 218 in Franc shows how the temptation to discriminate against tho with children is virtually eliminated. In a fund wit 200 employers who employ 20,000 workers, and pa out 200 million francs annually in wages, let us assum that there are 24,000 dependent children to whom o the average an annual allowance of 400 francs is pai or a total amount of 9.6 million francs. This is a sessed upon the employers who are members eithe according to the numbers employed or the wages pai In the former case it would be 480 francs per work per year, while if the latter method were followed would amount to an assessment of 4.8 per cent upo the payroll of each firm.

THESE grants by industry have been of appreciab assistance in enabling children to be more ad quately maintained. In recent years, a number of th funds have started social work and family visitin This was begun in part to check possible fraud an to see that the allowances were actually expended fo the benefit of the children, but the work has be widened to include health services for the children as well as juvenile welfare work of various forms.

Despite all the merits of the French and Belgia systems, however, there are at least two patent defect namely, that the allowances are inadequate in amou and the administration of the grants is entirely in th hands of the employers.

These plans have been adopted in France and Be gium at the initiative of the employers, and there a wide differences in the size of the allowances grant to the families. These vary not only according to th will of the various groups of employers but also a cording to the financial ability of the particular local or local industry which the fund serves. Save in Be gium, there are no national funds for any industr These are instead local, combining either the emplo ers of an industry or of a region.

New South Wales introduced the family allowan

system in 1927 in a form which obviates many of the difficulties connected with the French method. Payments of 5 shillings a week per child were made obligatory to the mothers of families whose income was no more than the basic wage. These are paid from a state-managed equalization fund to which the employers contribute 3 per cent of their wages-bill. This at once gives uniformity and places the administration in the hands of the state instead of in the employers. Another interesting feature is that the allowances are given to the families of the self-employed with low incomes as well as to wage earners.

The change which the granting of children's allowances must necessarily make in at least the theory of the minimum wage is shown by the fact that the law provided that the basic wage in the future was to be based on the needs of the childless couple instead of as before upon those of a family of four. Industrial Commissioner Piddington, however, in fixing anew the amount of the basic wage declined to reduce it and instead actually increased it slightly.

Judging by experience the majority of the working classes would prefer a state scheme to be paid for out of the taxation of incomes, profits, and inheritances rather than from industry. This is because they believe this would give a net addition to working class income and not be merely a redistribution within the working class of existing income. Grants by industry, they believe, would either result in a lowering of the basic scale by the employees and thus in little or no net addition in money wages or if the latter did occur, that it would be added on to the selling price of articles and hence largely paid for again by the workers. A state grant would largely meet all these objections. Some leaders of the labor movement in Great Britain, where the proposal has become an issue largely through the brilliant and devoted efforts of Miss Eleanor Rathbone, are, however, afraid that the payment of the allowances would make the heads of families willing to accept a lower basic wage. While some such influence might manifest itself, this would be minimized by the presence of a strong trade-union movement. In any event, it should be pointed out that those who reject family allowances because of this possible tendency are in effect refusing to help the children of the poor receive large sums lest bachelors and those without children might lose appreciably smaller sums. Most open-minded persons will grant that a greater equality of distribution as between the wage-earners and the owners of industry is desirable. It is surely better, however, to have the amount which is thus transferred concentrated upon those who really need it, namely, the wives and children than distributed on an even per capita basis to those who are already living on an appreciably higher scale than the working class group as a whole. But is it not also true that some redistribution of income within the wage earning class itself is likewise desirable, a redistribution which will allot such funds as are available in greater conformity to real need? Family allowances will still further help the women and the young even though the strong and healthy bachelors may temporarily experience some slight diminution of income. Since most men marry and rear families, this would mean in effect that income would be transferred from the periods when their wages yield a surplus to those years when they are insufficient. Some of the superfluities of young manhood would thus be transmuted into the necessities of childhood, and the resultant gain in human happiness would be large.

THE third plan of paying family allowances, namely, from a social insurance fund contributed to by workers, employers and the state, is really a hybrid compromise between the industrial and the state grants. It is primarily only adapted for those countries which, like Great Britain, already have a well-developed system of social insurance.

There is perhaps a still further method of protecting those with large families, namely, by the provision of further free social services. This would mean, for example, school lunches and breakfasts, free medicine and medical service, school uniforms, etc. This is indeed the method favored by some members of the Joint Committee of the British Labor Party and Trade-Union Congress which has been investigating the subject. It is highly unlikely, however, that as much money would be spent on these objects as would be disbursed under an adequate system of family allowances. Moreover, while the provision of free social services is within limits an excellent method, it is nevertheless true that it is better in general to give people the money and let them spend it under loose general supervision for themselves. We are applying this principle more and more for cases of charity and for prisoners and it holds good with even greater force for the normal workmen.

Not only do children's allowances guarantee a better life for the children but they also help to remove many of the age-long economic tyrannies which men have exercised over women. Thus the payment of the allowances to the mother gives her an independent source of income and helps to break the control which a large percentage of husbands have wielded through their exclusive control of the purse-strings. Furthermore, the payment of allowances to the children will permit the basic wage to be fixed according to the needs of a single man or, at most, of a childless couple. If the former were used, it would be possible to fix an equal minimum for women's work and thus at once give women equal pay for equal work and prevent women from undercutting men. Women in the workshop would thus be liberated as well as mothers in the home. The legitimate needs of children would be met,

but it would no longer be possible for bachelors (if one may mix one's metaphors) to hide behind the skirts of their married brethren in pleading the necessities of the latter as a reason for their own higher wage.

THE main objections to family allowances are perhaps three, namely, that they would (1) lower wages, (2) arouse the opposition of the bachelors and (3) unduly stimulate population growth. The first objection has been already dealt with, while there is little ground for the second if the unmarried men may be supposed to be reasonable creatures. The married man is not being paid more than the single man and has no more for himself—his children are merely protected in a fashion which would otherwise be impossible. The payment of the allowances to the mother in the home would serve to make this perfectly clear and would avoid the confusion which might result if the allowances were paid to the fathers in the workshops. Men would compete as individuals in industry and the more productive workers, irrespective of family responsibilities, would receive the larger stipends. Only in the home would the relative weight of dependency be considered.

Those who still fear the devil of Malthus tend to oppose family allowances because they believe that the knowledge that children would be provided for would lead to an increased production of them. This may be a serious objection but there would certainly still be non-economic costs and child-birth to serve as deterrent. Furthermore the higher standard of living which the payment of family allowances would initially give would make most workmen reluctant to lower it even if some provision were made for each successive child. There is reason to believe, moreover, that Malthus' fears were somewhat exaggerated since recent investigation shows that the Speenhamland system of poor relief did not result, as Malthus and Ricardo claimed, in an increase in the birthrate and may indeed have resulted in a decrease. Any tendency towards an undue stimulation of births may, however, be counteracted, by popularizing the knowledge of birth control amongst the wage earners and by decreasing the amount of the allowances for the children beyond the third.

While the relative merits of the various methods of granting the allowances may perplex and divide the reformers of Europe and Australia, no such complications exist with us in the United States. Under the present interpretation which the Supreme Court gives to the Constitution and with the existent temper of public opinion, state grants for children are for the present outside the range of possibility. We have no system of social insurance upon which to build a mutual system. There remain only voluntary experiments by industry and an extension of state services for children. Certainly we need more of the latter and th family allowance movement in calling attention to th obviously greater needs of large families should stim late their further growth. But we also need in th United States much experimentation by employers an trade unions with family allowances themselves.

A beginning in the granting of allowances has i deed been made by the Columbia Conserve Compan of Indianapolis and the Ludens Company of Readin and in education by Wells College and the new founded Bennington College. The teaching profe sion, government service, and the ministry would see to be peculiarly appropriate fields of application, an interest is being expressed in the proposal by membe of all these professions. Public spirited employers migh well copy the better features of the French plans, whi trade unions could provide for and jointly contr such grants through the medium of collective agre ments. The need for such experiments is great an the logic of events should lead to their adoption.

On Reading Wordsworth's Sonne "To Toussaint L'Ouverture"

July 26th, 1928

THIS leaping flame from Wordsworth's alt blown—
I would it might in others as in me
Kindle a thought of one who valorously
Fights on in Nicaragua's mountain zone.
Oh, whether now companioned or alone,
Leading thy tattered mates to victory,
Or in close covert hid, the foes that be
Thy foes, Sandino, are they not our own?

Thou new Toussaint, yet die not! Do thou bind
Thy brows with patience! Myriad forces rise
To take thy part; friends, helpers shalt thou fin
Powers that will work for thee, air, earth, and skies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.
Live and take comfort . . . Thou hast great allies!

ROBERTSON TROWBRIDGE

Grounds for Pacifism

The following statement is one of a series we are reprinting from a symposium issued in England by the No More War Movement, giving reasons for faith in that movement's drastic opposition to war.

War never did and never can settle any human problems. If war was effective, all our problems would have been solved hundreds of years ago.—TOM WILLIAMS, M.P.

Not in the Headlines

Negro Federal Workers

Whereas the number of Negro workers employed by the United States Government was 22,540 in 1910, the figure for 1928 is 31,882.

N. E. A. Gets After Propagandists

To investigate on a nation-wide scale the activities of the power trust in the public schools, the National Education Association has selected a committee of ten under the chairmanship of Dr. Edwin Broome, Superintendent of Philadelphia's school system.

More Pacifist Generals!

Along with General Freiherr von Shoenaich, whose adherence to pacifism he described in THE WORLD TOMORROW for last month, must be added the names of Dr. Siegfried Popper, ex-general of Austria, and Commander K. A. Bratt, of the Swedish Army, who has resigned and is devoting himself to work for peace.

Low Birth Rate in Britain

Births in England and Wales during 1927, it is reported by the Ministry of Health, were only 654,172, resulting in a birth rate of 16.6, the lowest ever recorded. However, as in other countries where birth control has been a growing practice, the death rate was also low, 12.3, and the loss in births was fully compensated for by the decrease of infant mortality.

Conscription in Kenya

Britain had instituted a drastic conscription act in Kenya, her colony on the East Coast of Africa, providing for compulsory military service of all men between 18 and 50. But opposition early manifested has grown more intense, until one conscript out of every seven is reported by the *Manchester Guardian* to have refused service, despite threats of fine and imprisonment. Latest advices indicate that the law has been temporarily suspended for more thorough consideration.

Government Segregation of Negro Workers

A fact-finding survey of the extent of segregation of federal bureaus has been completed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Association states that no indications of segregation were found in the Departments of Labor, State, or Agriculture. In general many complaints were heard to the effect that colored workers often fail to receive appointments and promotions which white workers are granted under similar conditions. Specific examples of segregation were reported as follows: 35 Negro clerks in Treasury Department; a few stenographers in Interior Department; offices involving relations with public appear unattainable in P. O. Department; 15 clerks in Veterans' Bureau; separate and inferior rest rooms for colored girls in government printing office; white clerks in front, Negroes in rear, at Navy Department; in numerous other bureaus and departments separate rest rooms, cafeterias, lockers, etc.

The Newer Cough Cure

Eight hundred cigarettes a year for every man, woman, and child of our population, on the average, is a record which, according to *The Living Age*, puts all other countries far behind.

Rumania Persecutes Her Pacifists

When the Rumanian government recently undertook to raise funds for its air fleet by a levy more voluntary in name than in fact, hundreds of trade unionists, says *The War Resister,* refused to collect funds among their fellow-workers. These leaders were arrested, 250 are reported to be still (October) confined in the military prison at Clausenburg, where three have been driven to suicide.

Soviets and Civil Aviation

Russia is embarking on a large-scale program of civil aviation. Soviet-German combines are ready to start routes in operation between European points and cities of the Near and Far East. Funds are being advanced by the Soviet Government. That Russia is following the cue of other nations is indicated by *Isvestia,* which states: "It is by creating a powerful civil aviation in the country that we are preparing for our future victories in the air."

Will Afghanistan Follow Turkey?

King Amanullah, following his highly press-agented trip through Europe, is settling down to the work of carrying out a program of social reforms which is somewhat similar to those undertaken in Turkey by Kemal Pasha. One feature is the compulsory co-education of all boys and girls between the ages of six and eleven. He stands for "the emancipation of women," and the removal of the veil is said to be the latest fad among the more advanced women of Afghanistan.

Christmas Cards for Peace

The Seattle group of the Fellowship of Reconciliation has worked out, with the assistance of some pacifists in other places, an artistic though simple Christmas card, which is to be sold without profit to all who would like to buy them. The card reads as follows: "Peace on Earth—Goodwill to Men. It is a pleasure to send at this season a word of friendly good wishes. As we reflect on the life and mission of the man of peace, along with the beauty and courage of his Christmas message to earth; and as we view the world-wide need for sympathetic understanding among the nations, races and classes—shall we not join with one another and others throughout the world in bearing witness—first in our own minds and then in public acknowledgment—that we cannot conscientiously give any sanction or support to any war or render war service in any form. Peace on Earth—Goodwill to Men." For $1.00 twenty-five cards and envelopes may be obtained; for $1.50, fifty; for $2.50, one hundred; for $4.00, two hundred, and lower prices are made for larger quantities. Queries or orders may be sent to Dr. Sydney Strong, 4 West 31st Street, New York City.

Is Gandhi a Pacifist?

American Comment on His Recently Stated War View

Editorial Note:—*In our November issue we printed an open letter to Mahatma Gandhi from Mr. B. De Ligt, a Dutch pacifist, together with the Mahatma's reply. We now publish five brief responses to Gandhi's statement by as many American pacifists.*

By Rufus M. Jones

Professor of Philosophy, Haverford College.

I HAVE read Mahatma Gandhi's article, "My Attitude Toward War," in the November issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW. I am not greatly surprised at the position he has taken toward the Boer War and the great European War. It very well illustrates, I think, the inadequacy of his fundamental position toward life.

I have the deepest respect for his motives and almost a sense of awe toward the beauty of his spirit and the charm of his personality, but the doctrine of *ahimsa* is altogether too negative for the full business of a creative life. One must get beyond any position or attitude of negation before he can make a constructive contribution to the world that is to be built. Passive resistance and non-violence or non-resistance would work if one were settled upon a monastic form of life and had decided to withdraw entirely from the complications of social relationships; but if one proposes to go on living in the world and aspires to have some part in shaping and building it, it is then necessary to decide upon some form of constructive experiment.

I have long ago settled my attitude in this matter, which is to practice as far as possible a way of life that eliminates fear and hate and bitterness, and that translates the spirit of love and fellowship and reconciliation and human understanding. Having settled upon that way of life for times of peace, I see no reason to interrupt it in the midst of war and bloodshed. In fact the darker and harder the existing situation, the more important it is to go straight on with the experiment. But the moment one stops with a principle of non-violence and still proposes to live in the world of men, he is bound to make some sort of compromise.

When Mahatma Gandhi swings over as he often does to "truth" as the light of our being, he is then of course uttering a positive principle, and he very often uses his principle of love as a mighty force and energy; but his entire system of thought is too heavily loaded with negation for him to work out the basic principle of life that can operate in the midst of the clash and collision of actual human forces. I have always hoped that he would arrive some day at a more completely constructive way of life; in other words that he would become more completely Franciscan in his grasp of the forces of life.

By Sydney Strong

Clergyman and Publicist, Seattle.

I AM distressed over Mr. De Ligt's attitude of reverence toward Gandhi. I share in appreciation of his contribution to mankind. But such an attitude of naïve devotion breeds error. When John began to worship the angel who had revealed so much to him, he was roundly rebuked with, "See that thou do it not; I am a fellow-servant; worship God." It is easy to discover errors in Gandhi and Tolstoi. Jesus rebuked the man who addressed him as o who was "good." Tolstoi's bare feet and Gandhi's meager cloth are deluding us. In my judgment, the men and women today wh are the closest to perfection have no garb of asceticism and are be found in the busy ways of life. I trust that Mr. De Ligt w not be disturbed as to what Gandhi or Tolstoi may do. They a simply fellow-servants. They would be among the first to say s

In my opinion, Gandhi's coöperation with the war-machine the British was a departure from reliance on the power of no violence, and his reasoning for this attitude inadequate. H illustration of killing monkeys that destroy the garden overloo the fact that in using love and non-violence toward human bein we do it in the belief that human beings are amenable to su influences—in the faith that such methods are better (thou difficult at the time to believe); that non-violence is the greate force and in the end wins. During the war, people argued th they could bayonet Germans in love. I never saw anyone wh had done it get up in meeting and testify about it. "Loyalty the Empire" sometimes interferes with a higher loyalty, i loyalty to mankind. The believer in non-violence—the conscientio objector—will be found to be the best defender of society.

There chances to be an article in the same number of TH WORLD TOMORROW, by a woman nurse who gives her reaso "Why I Returned the Croix de Guerre." It is an intensely hum document. Ten years after the Armistice she returned her med won for distinguished service, and given her, an American woma by France. Her reason, "Helping to keep up the morale wounded soldiers that they might be sent back to the front to fig again is an activity in accord with a war spirit which is not mi now." Let Mr. De Ligt take courage from her, for it seems me that she has penetrated deeply the implication of the princi of non-violence.

Increasing numbers in the midst of empires and republics a committing themselves to the way of love and non-violence Spirit-led, not man-led—as being the way of life. Loyalty man is seen to be higher and more binding than loyalty to empi non-violence is seen to be the road to security, peace, and pow

By Sarah N. Cleghorn

Educator and Poet, Manumit School, Pawling, N. Y.

CAN'T we begin to understand what so puzzles us in Gan by inquiring first how we ourselves ever come to occupy th positions and entertain those opinions, and apply our princip in those curious ways which amaze our friends and colleagues a cause them to consider us inconsistent as they often do?

Is it sometimes difficult for us to take our attention off the p fection of our own attitudes, and place it on the results of attitudes as measured in terms of living joy and grief? Are ever betrayed into letting pain be inflicted and tears be shed not even blood!) by devotion to the cause, or the laws, or movement, or the method, or the vow, or the principle, inst of the hearts and bodies they bruise and bless—even as the Je regarded their Sabbath as sacred in itself and needed to be minded that it was made for man, and not man for it?

Or do we feel a conscientious call to do whatever is lawfully expected of us, whether it turns out beneficient or cruel in some or other quarter? To fulfil expectations, to toe the mark, bear on the plan, not throw a monkey-wrench into the works—for how many a hanging, how many a raid, how many a punitive expedition, how many a downward thumb and shrugged shoulder and feet that trip by on the other side, the laudable impulse not to fail those who trust us, not to be a slacker or obstructionist, is responsible!

Gandhi, the great saint, prophet, and revolutionist, we find to be a human being like the rest of us. He is worn, he is aging, perhaps, and all the human impulses are in his great heart. Let us not look in the individual human being, in his individuality, but rather in his cosmic union with infinity and eternity, for

" . . . pure and endless light,
All calm as it is bright."

By John Haynes Holmes

Minister, Community Church, New York

MAHATMA GANDHI'S statement on war is thoroughly characteristic. It is simple, candid, sincere, and utterly disarming.

What impresses me in this statement is, first, the Mahatma's refusal to make even of *ahimsa,* which is the central conviction of his life, a dogma. Most of us, when profoundly moved by some ideal, proceed at once to transform this ideal into a rigid formula, and subject ourselves to its unbending tyranny. We do what the Pharisees in Jesus' day did with the Sabbath—make its rule of observance an end in itself instead of a means to the higher ends of life. But Gandhi remains free; he preserves the inner autonomy of the soul. No rule, not even the rule of non-resistance, can bind him, for he recognizes what Jesus recognized, that it is not conduct but motive, not outward conformity but inward integrity, that makes the man. It is just here that Gandhi is so much greater than Tolstoi. The latter was always setting up codes of law, and struggling futilely to obey them. Gandhi ignores law and trusts the spirit. "The light within me," he says, "is steady and clear." Therefore he knows the peace that Tolstoi never found.

Secondly, I am impressed in this statement by Gandhi's crystal-clear understanding of the plight of the pacifist in wartime. Many of us deceive ourselves into believing that, when war seizes upon the nation, we as individuals can escape its clutch. As a matter of fact, we can do nothing of the kind. So complex is our modern civilization, so interdependent the relationships of citizens in contemporary society, that "no man liveth unto himself." If the nation goes to war, we also, willy-nilly, go to war. Many of us found this out in 1917 when every stamp we bought, every pound of food we ate, every tax-bill we paid, involved its contribution to the support of the work of murder. There was no way, short of suicide, in which we could avoid this personal participation in the war. The only thing we could do was to *draw the line somewhere,* and thus bear our testimony against evil; and on this question of "somewhere," men differed among themselves. Tolstoi in his time banned the Red Cross; Gandhi in the Great War, like the Quakers, consented to the Red Cross. By what right shall the one be used to judge or to condemn the other?

The miracle of Gandhi is his union of the loftiest spirituality with the firmest and serenest type of sanity. I know of no man in history, not even Jesus, who salts his idealism with so healthy a sprinkling of commonsense. It is this quality which makes the Mahatma as great a statesman as he is a prophet. His statement on war, in the last issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW, is a beautiful example of this rare quality of mind.

By S. Ralph Harlow

Professor of Bible History, Smith College.

WE, who for many years have looked to Mr. Gandhi as a spiritual leader in a great crusade against war, feel sore at heart as we read this new pronouncement from him. All the subtle arguments through which we have ourselves struggled to victory over the war spirit spring to life in this article. Here once more we find compromise with militarism and the state upheld. And by whom! By a fearless leader, to whom we owe much in our own fight to get rid of such compromise. What can Mr. Gandhi mean? Where does he stand?

The first impression of confusion and inconclusiveness in the thinking deepens as one rereads the article. In the second place one feels a note of opportunism and of compromise. In the third place, Caesar is accorded a right over the things that belong only to God. From Gandhi such sentiments would seem unbelievable, but here they are in black and white.

Gandhi admits that there is no defense of his position when it is considered in the light of eternal truth. He says that life is "governed by a multitude of forces," and our acts are not easily determined. To this we assent. But what "forces" shall we count uppermost when we make our great decisions? Here speaks the Mahatma. "But so long as I lived under a system of Government based on force and voluntarily partook of the many facilities and privileges it created for me, I was bound to help that Government to the extent of my ability *when it was engaged in war* unless I non-coöperated with that Government and renounced to the utmost of my capacity the privileges it offered me."

Has Mr. Gandhi thought this through? Will no further word come from him on this? We must wait and hope. Till then, whatever he may say or leave unsaid, whatever course he may take or think it unwise to take, reading his article has confirmed more deeply in our own souls the only path we as followers of Jesus Christ must take. We agree with Mr. Gandhi, "the Light within is steady and clear." "There is no escape for any of us save through non-violence. War is wrong, an unmitigated evil. It has got to go. Freedom won through bloodshed is no freedom."

We maintain the right as Americans to follow our conscience even as did our fathers who founded this nation. We are prepared to suffer whatever may be our fate for opposing to the limit any attempt on the part of our nation to use armed force in seeking to attain its aims through war means. We will cast no votes for military training, for increased armaments, for war preparation. Should war come, we will have no part in it. And we take this stand because we agree with Mr. Gandhi that "we do not believe in the promotion of national or any other interests at the sacrifice of some other interest" when that other interest is the will of God for humanity.

We hold that our loyalty to our nation is not less but more for a spiritual conception and interpretation of our nation's highest good and most glorious service to humanity. We accept all of Mr. Gandhi's passionate devotion to peace and rejection of the war method; we reject his opportunism and compromise as expressed in this recent statement.

Clippings

Have We Made That Change?

To move from an age of conformity to an age of non-conformity, to pass from a day when the rebel was ostracized to a day when the rebel is idolized, is to have made a mighty change.—*Rev. William P. Merrill, quoted in the* New York World, *Nov. 22, 1926.*

Actions Speak Louder—

One hundred and eleven resolutions on armaments have been adopted by the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations in forty-four of their sessions; fourteen of the League's commissions have debated disarmament in 120 sessions—not to mention their uncounted sittings; the diplomatists at Geneva insisted year after year that they could do little or nothing for disarmament as long as Russia's army was on foot. But when Russia offered to disband its army, demolish its forts, and destroy all its other means of making war, if other nations would do likewise, they found many but flimsy excuses for evading the issue.—*Professor William I. Hull, in* The Friends' Intelligencer, *Eleventh Month 3, 1928.*

What Twenty-five Negroes Are Doing

The stereotype is that the Negro is nothing more than a beggar at the gate of the nation, waiting to be thrown the crumbs of civilization. Through his artistic efforts the Negro is smashing this immemorial stereotype faster than he has ever done through any other method he has been able to use. . . . I do not think it too much to say that through artistic achievement the Negro has found a means of getting at the very core of the prejudice against him, by challenging the Nordic superiority complex. A great deal has been accomplished in this decade of "renaissance." Enough has been accomplished to make it seem almost amazing when we realize that there are less than twenty-five Negro artists who have more or less of national recognition; and that it is they who have chiefly done the work.—*James Weldon Johnson, in* Harpers' Monthly Magazine, *November, 1928.*

The World War Could Have Been Prevented

During the last fateful week of July the great powers were continuously, day and night, bombarding one another with frantic statements, appeals, advice and warnings. Through a thick fog of misunderstanding, confusion, suspicion and ill will, they were bombarding one another with endless diplomatic notes at long range. I am positive that not one of them knew exactly how matters stood at any stage of these frenzied negotiations. Sitting in my study with a cool, aloof mind, with all the documents before me, I was in a fog. So Europe stumbled, and could not help stumbling, in darkness in the abyss. Even making allowance for all evil elements and for the scheming of war parties and war staffs, I come to the conclusion that, with machinery of conference and direct consultation such as now exists in the League, the outbreak of the great war in August, 1914, could have been avoided. And my impression is very strong that, in spite of all weakness and many incidental failures, the League in its present constitution and practice is probably a real guarantee against a recurrence of a similar catastrophe.—*General Jan Christiaan Smuts, in* The New York Times Magazine, *October 28, 1928.*

Christendom *and* America

I say as a minister when this war began: if all the Churches of Christendom and America had suddenly come out and said "Halt! This murder must not begin," not a minister or a monarch would have dared to have done it.—*David Lloyd George in the Welsh Church, East Castle Street, W., London. Quoted in* No More War, *September, 1928.*

Prosperity on the Farm

Between 1910 and 1925 the amount of mortgage debt on owner-operated farms increased from $1,726,000,000 to $4,517,000,000; and the ratio of debt to value, from 27.3 per cent to 41.9 per cent. The total debt of American farmers today, both mortgage and personal, is probably between $11,000,000,000 and $12,000,000,000. The farmer, moreover, has had for several years to pay interest and principal with an income that has had a purchasing power of about 80, compared with 1910-14. In 1924-25 it took 30 per cent of the cash income of owner-operators to pay interest on their debts.—*Kenyon L. Butterfield, in* Current History, *November, 1928.*

Equal to Half of the Money in Circulation

That Germany is anxious to have the reparation question solved is obvious. It is also worth remembering that the "standard" year of payments calling for less than 2,500,000,000 reichsmarks has just begun. One obtains a better idea of the significance of this figure if he takes into account the fact that it represents more than double Germany's customs receipts for a whole year: that it is equivalent to more than 86% of Germany's annual income taxes; to only a little less than one-half of the total amount of money in circulation in Germany at the beginning of last month; to the net annual output of the entire coal industry; to twice the annual production of the chemical industry; to about 40% of the annual receipts of the German railways; to about 60% of the annual imports of foodstuffs; and to the amount required annually for new buildings in the Reich.—*Dr. Max Winkler, in* The Financial Chronicle, *October 27, 1928.*

A Screw Loose Somewhere

Ireland has had the second of its distinguished visitors from America this week. He is Mr. Kellogg. The first was Mr. Gene Tunney, who aroused more popular enthusiasm. If only Mr. Kellogg had renounced war for America as definitely as Gene Tunney renounced fighting for himself, the celebrations would have had more reality. Mr. Kellogg received a parting salute of 21 guns when he left Havre. At Dun Laoghaire his ship—the "Detroit"—boomed out its signal of arrival and was answered with the thundering roar of 21 guns. Four military aeroplanes dipped overhead in welcome. More guns announced that the peace party was leaving the ship. Arriving at Dublin they were met by a mounted military escort which sounded a salute of trumpets. They proceeded through the Dublin streets lined by two battalions of Free State troops who presented arms by platoon. The Ambassador of Peace had arrived—*Irish correspondent of* The New Leader (*British*), *September 7, 1928.*

The Larks of St. Francis

VIDA D. SCUDDER

SOME people refuse to die, and among them is St. Francis. The bridegroom of Lady Poverty left this world a defeated man, loved yet thwarted by the church he had been sent to restore, and made one with the Passion of his Lord. His followers, renouncing all perquisites and incentives the world values, had experienced an extraordinary influx of joy and creative power, and they tried valiantly to tread in the way he showed. Like all adventures of Christian radicals, theirs are of thrilling interest; but they met defeat like their founder. Hating property, the exigencies of fact forced them to hold it; professing beggary, the Order became rich. What success they won was at cost of compromise; and they stand as warning rather than example to the Christian who shrinks as they shrank from divisive private tenure of property, and dreams of a civilization founded on the free fellowship of love.

Yet the ideal they represented will not down. It is recurrent through the ages. Again and again, the Franciscan Order has been reformed from within. Again and again, independent groups have tried, shaking themselves free from worldly incumbrance, literally to follow Francis—and Jesus. Interest in the saint was never more insistent than today. Anyone known for a student of matters Franciscan is beset by wistful enquiries from strangers, wondering if the Way of Francis can be followed now. A School of Franciscan Studies at Oxford tries with an admirable program to throw light on the question. An immense literature gathers around the figure of the man who distrusted and feared learning. One hears of a hundred-odd houses of Tertiaries lately founded in Germany; of the Society of St. Giles in England, which cares for lepers; and of sundry other societies, apart from the regular divisions of the Order—all dedicated in special way to evangelical poverty. The Franciscan Year lately over-stimulated ardent Catholic thinkers. Some of them remembered the former influence of the Third Order in breaking up the petty feuds in mediaeval Italy by its oath against military service, and suggested earnestly what a revival of that oath might do to promote peace in our own world. Alas! The oath was softened fairly early. Always the attempt to break loose from the current system has failed; always it is renewed—and will be so, while anyone is left who longs to take the Gospels literally.

THE WORLD TOMORROW allows me to tell its readers of one such experiment, carried on now by a group of women in St. Francis' Umbria. They have cast possessions lightly to the winds, and the peasantry have dubbed them "The Larks of St. Francis." A design of two flying larks is on their door, with the motto:

Laudat Alauda Deum: Dum sese extollit in altum.
Dum cadit in terram: Lauda Alauda Deum.

Praise God they do; and they understand well Francis' description of Perfect Joy, for there are few difficulties they do not face. They are Franciscan Tertiaries, but they lead a special life. The "Least Sister," head of the small community, spent eighteen years in a regular convent. After the war an imperious inward stress drove her to seek less trodden ways, where Lady Poverty could be more completely her companion; and with the blessing of the Holy Father and other ecclesiastical authorities, she set forth on her high adventure. Here is a little group, but it grows; and Francis did not care for large ones. They wear no formal garb, but ordinary peasant dress.

"When did you first come under the influence of St. Francis?" I asked the Least Sister.

"I think I knew him long before I heard of him," was virtually her reply. "When I was a girl, everyone sought to engage me in good works to help the poor. But I did not wish to help the poor; I wished to be one of them." Later, in her convent, she found *The Mirror of Perfection* the guide she sought.

LIKE all truest children of Francis, the Larks have no fixed abiding place. The phrase from the Franciscan Rule, "Adveni et Pellegrini," describes them. But one wishes they might stay long in their present home, an old "Eremo" or hermitage, among the Apennines, high above the valley of Spoleto. Immediately below lies the classic Fountain of Clitumnus, on the Flaminian Way, where phantom dust from the tramping feet of Roman legions still chokes the breath. But songs rise higher than dust, and climbing the hill one hears quite plainly the singing and laughter of the Gray Brothers who for many generations trod these ways. For this is the very heart of the St. Francis country, and the prospect is no less exquisite to spirit than to sense. Only a rough mule-track leads to the Eremo. Up and up it goes, first through olives, then over sterile slopes, where rosy cyclamen gleam among the stones, till a sudden turn discloses a mass of gray buildings embowered in trees. The fourteenth-century monastery was occupied by the friars until their dispersion sixty years ago. It is redeemed now to holy uses by this determined little band of women, the friars

having refused to take it again, on account of the difficulties of the site.

There are about a dozen of them, and they wait in the long walk by the Madonna's shrine, to give gay welcome to the rather breathless climber. One of their joys is showing hospitality, and men and women of distinction clamber to these heights. The Larks are not, I think, very cognizant of modern social theories, and I have rarely been in a house where there were so few books; but Tolstoy and his ideas often occur to mind, for the combination of poverty and hard work at the Eremo would have rejoiced him. The old friars, after their pleasant habit, had placed several acres under cultivation, but all had run to decay. The Larks —some of them university women, one at least of the old nobility, others, and not the least consecrate, daughters of the soil—are reclaiming it with their own hands. They live largely by the produce of their garden and hen run. To explain them in modern terms, one might talk of rural settlement work, for they have happy relations with their neighbors and one hears of "festas" for a hundred children (where do these children come from, on those lonely heights?).

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that social work in our modern sense looms large in their minds. The American fetish of efficiency is unknown to them. They mean to live, taking no anxious thought for the morrow, supporting themselves by their own labor, and spending themselves in prayer. "There is here"—so runs a paragraph in their brief account of themselves—"rising above the olives, the oaks and the cypresses, a Roman fort wherein is a little cell we call the Nest. Each Sister from time to time ascends there, and remains alone for a Day of Retreat. It is especially during this day that the Sister in prayer thinks of the absent, and offers, implores and seeks to help them."

HOW the Larks came to the Eremo is a romance too long to tell. But all lovers of Francis must rejoice in the way they cherish and renew old traditions. On entering the Refectory, each makes a sign of reverence to an old fresco of St. Francis. An ugly Baroco Church defaced the place; thanks to the enthusiasm of the Franciscan Year, it was destroyed and the touching primitive Chapel restored; and the first service there was a mass for the repose of the souls of the friars found buried at the threshold. In this dim chapel are said, not the formal offices of the monks, but simple prayers retaining the best traditions of those adepts in achieving contact with the Unseen. The Protestant feels an immemorial wisdom as the gentle voice of the Least Sister expounds some lesson from the Gospels or the saints. One lives in fellowship with the saints up there, and Sorella Maria's rich knowledge of the religious heritage so lamentably neglected by Protestants is constantly evident. Is it audacious to surmise that the saints she loves best are those who have quietly defied the ecclesiastical conventions like Francis and Bernardino of Siena? Devotions at the Eremo are drawn from sources old and new. Now they are held in the corridor, where a lighted shrine marks entrance to the Sisters' quarters, now in the Chapel, often under the trees. There the landscape assists the growing knowledge that the veil between sense and spirit is thin; for the up-springing heights and the illumined Umbrian horizons become themselves, as it were, a prayer, "a prospect in the mind."

Abandoning with relentless completeness the acquisitive instinct and its works, the Larks have found the true "Libertà francescana." Their future, who can see? They meet all the perplexities met by their predecessors. "They are not logical," said I, pointing out certain inconsistencies to a wise English clergyman, their friend. He answered by a query: "If a supernatural force appears in the natural order, is it not likely to contradict our logic?" One really does find something awesome at the Eremo. One enters the asmosphere of the Fioretti; episodes of startling beauty mark strangely the daily life. In our hurried activities, our zeal for causes and reforms, it refreshes some of us to think of this quiet group in Italy who have cast in their lot with the humblest and seek by pure spiritual energy to further the Kingdom of the Eternal.

One starts down the barren mountain. The Sisters, now dear friends, accompany one to the portal where the tree-shaded avenue ends. A pause by the shrine while they invoke a blessing; then one moves reluctantly away, and as far down as voices can carry one hears the sweet Latin chanting of the Larks—words into which is poured their constant aspiration *"Sancte Francisci, ora pro nobis."*

True Dial of Time

I KNOW at last the only hours we live
Are those absorbed by beauty, the days are those
Dialed by the sun, the way a tree-shadow goes
Across the ripe grass trailing leaves, to dive
Under a fence, to drip a windy sieve
Of purple fruit over a road. Who knows
More music than a soaring blackbird? He sows
The furrows of air with bursting seeds that give
Swift flowers. Shall I index the day with more
Than bees who murmur of scarlet runners, who feel
No need of clocks to measure joy? I pour
Myself into the grass, the shadow, I wheel
My beating heart through the air on a blackbird's wing!
O bees, of scarlet runners, we sing, we sing!

RUTH LANGLAND HOLBERG

Peace Tactics and a Racial Minority

HOWARD THURMAN

I

IT is a very simple matter for people who form the dominant group in a society to develop what they call a philosophy of pacifism that makes few if any demands upon their ethical obligation to minority groups with which they may be having contacts. Such a philosophy becomes a mere quietus to be put into the hands of the minority to keep them peaceful and controllable.

The difficulty a minority group faces is two-fold. First, there is always present the danger which comes from the imitation of the dominant majority. In its position as a minority it may live vicariously the total life of the group which is contributing so largely to its discomfort. A careful study of the life of minorities usually reveals this imitation of the majority. Often when the dominant group is heartily hated, the imitation takes the form of compensation. That is, those who ride on top in a minority group may treat those below them, so to speak, as they themselves are treated by the dominant majority. This grave danger is certainly one which is, for example, facing the Negro in American life. It is entirely possible to love people so much that one becomes like them. It is also equally possible and perhaps more thoroughly feasible to hate people so bitterly that one becomes like them. This imitation may range all the way from the cut of clothes to small-town economic "imperialism."

The second danger is even more imminent and deadly: a dread despair due to the overwhelming expressions of domination and control which emanate everywhere from a powerful majority. All the current symbols of "civilization" which reach their clammy hands into the most intimate social processes of Negro life bespeak the will of the majority. A sense of helplessness and despair is apt to work its way into the very soul of such a stigmatized minority group. This helplessness expresses itself in many ways. I was going through a section in Atlanta called Beaver's Slide when my attention was attracted by a deep baritone voice singing this refrain:

> Been down so long—
> Down don' worry me.

A Negro man whose soul had given up the ghost! Or this helplessness may express itself as the motive which drives a brilliant Negro holding two degrees from one of the dominant group's best symbols of "education" to become a dining car waiter—the light has faded from his eyes!

II

I HAVE gone to great length before attempting to state the thesis of this little discussion. The editors have asked me to discuss the philosophy of pacifism as it may be applied to the relationship between Negroes and white people in America. Fundamentally this means as it may be applied to the relationship between a stigmatized minority and a dominant more or less hostile majority.

A philosophy of pacifism implies the will to share joyfully the common life and the will to love all healingly and redemptively. It springs out of a sense of the unity, the basic inter-relation, and the sacredness of all life. This means at least two things for Negroes and white people who must live together in America. First, it means that white people who make up the dominant majority in American life must relax their will to dominate and control the Negro minority. Second, Negroes must develop a minority technique which I choose to call a technique of relaxation sufficiently operative in group life to make for vast creativity, with no corresponding loss in self-respect. I shall discuss each in turn.

III

AT the present time in America the will of the dominant group is tense; it is increasingly concentrated upon the domination and control of the minority group, utilizing all the machinery at its disposal to that end. Nothing is spared: the press, including the comic sheet and the high-brow journal; the church, including the pulpit and much "religious" activity; and for the most part the technique and philosophy of education.

The relaxation of this will to dominate and control would be far-reaching because it would demand an evolutionary, if not revolutionary, shifting of a group mind-set, and the discovery of a new basis for group security. This is most difficult because of the historical relationship between these two groups in America.

Slavery would have been impossible without a stern relentless will to dominate and control the life of the slave group. For many generations the springs of such a will were fed by education, by religion, and by observation. The security of the group rested in the unchanging quality of this relationship. This type of education, et cetera, included the slave group as well. My grandmother has often told me how she was taught as a little child just who she was and where she fitted into the scheme of the plantation. And as a nurse in the master's household she saw how careful

the training was with reference to the status of the master and his family.

SO thoroughgoing was the whole procedure that, far from questioning the ethics of the position, a master-slave ethic evolved which has not entirely lost its power even today. The sanction for this ethic was not far to seek. I quote here in outline the position as used by Mode in his *Sourcebook for American Church History* (p. 573 ff.):

> Slave-holding does not appear in any catalogue of sins or disciplinable offences given us in the New Testament.
>
> This fact, which none will call in question, is presumptive proof that neither Christ nor his Apostles regarded slave-holding as a sin or an offence. That we may give to this presumption its proper weight, we must take account of such facts as the following:
>
> First. The Catalogues of Sins and Disciplinable Offences, given us in the New Testament are numerous, and in some instances, extended and minute.
>
> Second. All the books of the New Testament were written in slave-holding states, and were originally addressed to persons and churches in slave-holding states: One of them—the epistle to Philemon—is addressed to a slave-holder. . . .
>
> Third. The condition of slaves in Judea, in our Lord's day, was no better than it now is in our Southern states, whilst in all other countries it was greatly worse. . . .
>
> Fourth. Slavery, and the relations which it establishes are frequently spoken of, and yet more frequently referred to by Christ and his Apostles.
>
> The Apostles Received Slave-Holders into the Christian Church, and Continued them therein, without giving any intimation either at the time of their Reception, or Afterwards, that Slave-Holding was a sin before God, or to be accounted an offence by the Church. Proof. Eph. 6:9; Col. 4:1; I Tim. 6:2; Philem. 2. . . .
>
> Paul sent back a Fugitive Slave, after the Slave's hopeful Conversion, to his Christian Master again, and assigns his reason for so doing that Master's right to the services of his Slave. Proof: Philem. 10-19.
>
> The Apostles repeatedly enjoin the relative Duties of Masters and Slaves, and enforce their Injunctions upon both alike, as Christian Men, by Christian Motives; uniformly treating the Evils which they sought to correct as incidental Evils, and not part and parcel of slavery itself. Proof. Eph. 6:5-9; Col. 3:22-25; 4:1; I Tim. 6:1, 2; Titus 2:9, 10; I Pet. 2:18, 19.

NOW let us put alongside this outline a very impressive statement written by Professor Coe in his Social Theory of Religious Education:

> When we who pray to God as father, and call humanity a family and exalt the idea of service, nevertheless take unprotesting comfort in the anti-domestic, unbrotherly, caste-like inequalities of opportunity that prevail in the world, then, however conscious we may be of compromising our religion, we actually become teachers of an anti-Christian ethic.

Nothing can take the place of or atone for the profound shifting of this old point of view. Anything less than this, however sincere may be the motive, the devotion, the words uttered by Jesus (a member of a stigmatized minority with regard to the dominant more or less hostile majority) are true: "And Jesus said unto them, the kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors."

It is outside the scope of this paper to suggest ways for bringing about a new group mind-set. I am profoundly convinced, however, that if this will to dominate and control is to be relaxed the answer must come in terms of a new philosophy of education and a more adequate philosophy of religion. In other words, it must be placed at the springs which feed the school, the church, the home.

IV

IN the second place, Negroes must develop a minority technique which I choose to call a technique of relaxation sufficiently operative to make for creative living. And this without a corresponding loss in self-respect—perhaps an impossible situation!

The supposedly ignorant Negro who does much of the heavy work of the South has mastered such a technique in some of its aspects. In the midst of a hostile dominating, controlling white majority he relaxes and oftentimes becomes remarkably creative. When he swears or laughs or sings, the gods tremble. He transcends his environment and in that degree he is free.

But what happens to those who are in the schools? Ideally stated, it seems to me that the goal of education is to make people at home in the world so that they may live fully and creatively. It aims to put at their disposal a technique of mastery over themselves and over their environment as far as possible. This may mean different things for two different groups who live together on a basis of caste. To the dominant group it may mean that it must be at home in the world so that it may live fully and creatively—"fully and creatively" being interpreted in terms of the life within the group but not at all with reference to the minority. When it thinks of the mastery of its environment, it may think of the minority group as being a part of its environment! It is conceivable that people so educated would eventually harness social forces to the extent that their position in society would be secure. As a matter of fact it is just this thing that has happened in American life. The great emphasis is upon the technique of mastery. This is a most useful tool.

NOW I raise my previous question. What happens to those of the minority group who are the products of these schools? The same thing happens to them that happens to the members of the dominant group.

With what result? Very soon it is discovered that the technique is one which is to be used by those who stand in society in a position of advantage. (I do not refer here to the subject matter as such—majority and minority group mathematics is the same.) But the Negro stands in a position of disadvantage. Meanwhile the gulf between him and the great majority of his own group widens. They look on each other with eyes that do not understand. Perhaps this is inevitable. But an education which tends to throw a member of a minority group out of sympathy with the life and struggles of the greater number of his group to whose fate his fate is also tied is suicidal.

A minority technique which I am calling a technique of relaxation would put the group into a frame of mind that would make it possible to detach itself from the clash of minority and majority sufficiently to interpret the relationship between them in the light of a will to share and a will to love. The same thing would obtain with the dominant group. For the moment that it relaxes its will to dominate and control, the way is open for summarizing the relationship on a new basis. To this end all social forces operating separately and jointly among both groups must be harnessed.

In my opinion, all our attempts to bring about brotherhood, sympathetic understanding, good will are dashed to pieces against an adamant wall. On the one side it is labelled: The Will to Control and Dominate. On the other it is labelled: The Will to Hate the Man who tries to Dominate and Crush Me. When these wills are relaxed, then the way is clear for the operation of the will to share joyfully in the common life—the will to love healingly and redemptively.

The Communist Religion

J. P. WARBASSE

"THE various modes of worship, which prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered by the people as equally true; by the philosophers, as equally false; and by the magistrates, as equally useful," wrote Gibbon of religion in the far-flung Roman Empire. Since those ancient days, the politicians have continued to find religion useful.

The rise of science and the increase of knowledge have been followed by a decline in the devotion to mysticism. But still the human character has not changed. The mind that was once religious in the mystical sense now becomes religious in the political sense. Nationalism, socialism, and communism take the place of the old emotions.

An urge to give one's self to social salvation and to desire the glorification of some certain form of organization above all others characterizes the new political religion as it did the old theology. It is the power behind the nationalist movement in Germany, imperialism in Great Britain, the Fascist movement in Italy, the "one-hundred-percent Americanism" in the United States, and the communist movement in Russia.

The young communist missionary, with his ubiquitous document case, seen in every country, is doing precisely what his religious predecessors did—working and praying for a decline of the old order and the rise of his own. The communist preaches hell and damnation. He kicks over the tables of the money-changers in the temple. He teaches the overthrow of the dominant capitalist system and the creation of chaos out of which shall arise, purified and made whole, a heavenly society. His heaven is not in the clouds but on this very earth. His is a live and appealing religion. He scorns the old conceptions of heaven and like the old I. W. W. sneers at the idea of "pie in the sky, bye and bye." He would have pie on this earth, which one may get without dying. He fails to see that all futures are in the same realm of uncertainty. His heaven, however, has this unique quality: it is not "over there"; it has yet to be built. The communist's job is to build it.

For many centuries the Elysian fields have been across a Styx that separates life from death; the communist's heaven is just on the other side of a Styx flowing between the present and the future. Not the virtuous dead, but only the living proletariat may pass across. The old religions offered heaven ready-made for the believers; communism offers it only to the workers.

Every communist is really a missionary. Here is the translation of a legend which I copied from a large red banner in a public building in Moscow: "We work for a revolution that shall encircle the world until capitalism in every land is destroyed and the dictatorship of the proletariat has established the workers in control in all nations."

There is something earnest about this. People can work for it. It demands action, not merely belief. And the communist missionary does work for it. He stops almost at nothing. The old religions that killed, burned, tortured, pillaged, and plundered were not superior in the intensity nor consecration of their followers. Whenever the end sought made it appear necessary, all these acts of violence have been committed by communists. The communists are sure of their cause. They know that they are right. To

oppose communism is not only heterodoxy but, if you happen to be in Russia, treason. The end justifies the means.

These zealous religionists have executed, imprisoned, and deported to Siberia thousands of those who were opposed to their religion or to their state. The victims have included not only capitalists but socialists and anarchists.

THE communists are also busy tearing at the fabric of capitalistic society. Every mistake of the capitalists becomes a communist text. For example: The Sacco and Vanzetti case excited the most violent flights of communist invective against capitalist injustice. Yet in Russia the fate of Sacco and Vanzetti would have been the same. They were anarchists, and the Soviet Government has imprisoned and executed anarchists more mercilessly than the United States.

The religious zeal of communists has carried disruptive tactics into the internal issues of the labor movement with much harm to labor. Mr. Harold J. Laski, in discussing the relation of the communists to the British Labor Movement, said: "They lie, they intrigue, they falsify, they distort, they indulge in vile personal abuse, and they express astonishment that a friendly hand is not extended to them."

I can assert that in the coöperative movement the communists do all of these things and a friendly hand is still extended to them. But how long this will continue cannot be predicted.

The religion of communism is peculiar in that it very frequently begins with hatred. The communist is full of contumely. He is pregnant with bile. He has no words bad enough to characterize the capitalist, the bourgeoisie, the non-communist trade unions, the socialists, the Christians—all, in short, who are not communists are reviled. It is the least charitable of all religions.

Communism has examples of loyal sacrifice; but no word of love, of forgiveness, of contrition, as a general doctrine. Whoever points out any benefits that capitalism has brought to society, or speaks of the benefactions of a single capitalist, brings down upon his head the curses of the communists. To the communist zealot the capitalist is wholly vile.

Communism is the militant religion of Marxian socialism in action. There are two kinds of communists: the idealistic Marxians and the party-member Muscovites.

The first are the relic of the old Utopian socialism, whose eyes now turn to Russia, where they hope they see the beginning of the march toward the promised land. The others are the more youthful and active disciples of the new communism, who have been baptized in the faith, and take their orders from the chief priests of the Third International. Moscow is their Mecca. The devotees are both earnest and fanatical. They believe that communism is the road to salvation for the proletariat, and that people who are not of the proletariat are of the devil. They are subject—body and mind—to the dictatorship of the communist hierarchy. They submit themselves to a rigorous discipline that would test the faith of the most pious followers of Mohammed.

The communist party member is willing to suffer discipline, even martyrdom. "I would gladly step out and be shot, if Trotsky called upon me to make the sacrifice," was once said to me by a member of the communist party.

I have watched parades of communists in Leningrad and Moscow and have seen upon their faces the exaltation and the ecstasy of the Crusaders—the expression of a great religious emotion. I have seen the same thing on the faces of the Fascists in Italy, and the Salvation Army in America. It is the expression of hope, of victory, and of self-righteousness in an eternal cause. I can imagine it on the faces of the early Christians as they marched into Rome and Antioch.

RUSSIA and Italy are the two countries which most vehemently suppress freedom of press and speech. Communism is the twin of Fascism. It may be discussed and criticised by its disciples; but for others to seek out its weaknesses or to publish its defects to the world is not to be tolerated. Free criticism is a sacrilege.

To the communist mind the extra-communist society, the heathen world, should have not facts but propaganda for its salvation. The unhappy internal dissensions which exist within the fold are to be kept from the heathen as much as possible. The propagation of the faith is to be carried on by every method, for the goal is the salvation of the world—and more power to the high priests in the political temple.

To the communist, Marx is the ancient prophet who enunciated the doctrine of grace and wrote upon tablets of stone. Lenin is the evangelist who brought the gospel to the people, founded the modern church, suffered and died for the cause, and experienced the sanctification of canonization. In an argument among communists, if one quotes Lenin to support his contentions, he has introduced an incontrovertible authority. The words of Lenin have become Holy Writ.

Moscow is the seat both of the holy sepulchre and the Holy See. There the philistines and the pharisees, the heathen and the infidels, have been driven into hiding or subjection.

The hymnal opens with the "International."

The holy missal is the collection of the words of Marx and Lenin.

The symbol of the faith is not the cross nor the crescent but the hammer and sickle.

The banner of Hosanna is the red flag.

The proletariat are the chosen people.

The high and mighty shall be cast down from their seats and those of low degree exalted.

Deposuit potentes de sede,
Et exaltavit humiles.

The poor rally to this cry as they did two thousand years ago. On the Red Square in Moscow, the "toiling masses" may be heard singing on festive occasions:

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation,
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
For justice thunders condemnation;
A better world's in birth.

And to what more thrilling appeal could the poor listen than to the call that they shall become the rulers and enjoy the satisfactions of the rich?

The first reaction of Roman civilization to Christianity was similar to that of modern civilization to communism. Rome, in the first centuries after Christ, was characterized by much wealth in few hands, by poverty among the masses, by autocracy in government, by political corruption, and by many other circumstances similar to those of the western civilization of today. The Christians, with their propaganda, came to Rome. They not only criticized the government, the successful business elements, and the religion of the Romans, but they were so confident that they were right and so aggressive with it all, that they seemed to threaten the security of society as well as the State. Respectable and established Rome first treated them as fanatics, and then became fearful of what they might do to upset the established order of things. As a result, the Christians were unjustly thrown to the lions and burned at the stake; there was no reasoning with them. Like the Christians, the communists appeal to the propertyless masses. And for precisely the same causes the communists today are unjustly clubbed and thrown into prisons. That seems to be the brutal method of society in dealing with persons who can not be reasoned with and whose religion threatens the security of things. Cocksureness, amounting to insolence, begets an angry response.

IN all religions which have attained to the temporal control of a state, two dangerous classes of people arise: they are the devotees and the charlatans—or, more plainly speaking, the idealistic bunglers and the practical scoundrels. In Russia both of these have attached themselves to the Communist State and have attempted to administer its affairs. Fortunately for Russia, those with practical efficiency also are coming to her aid.

Communism has already had its Reformation. Protestantism is the New Economic Policy. Exile is the fate of the orthodox Trotsky. The protestants are in power. Luther now occupies the Kremlin and throws inkwells at the Devil.

It is futile to discuss communism as an economic matter at all. Communism does not belong in the realm of economics; it is a religious problem, and only when viewed as such can it be sympathetically understood. The fundamentalist type of communist thought is not influenced by facts or reason. Communist thought is influenced by warm emotional faith.

With such understanding one can show to the communist the same consideration to which every disciple of any religion is entitled. The religion of each is his own intimate and personal affair. It is when he presses it upon others and, by means fair and foul, attacks all other religious and political beliefs, that he himself relinquishes at least the right of freedom from criticism.

Sonnet of Wonder at Light

LIGHT has a life that moves in all directions;
At the same time, light plunges east and west.
Light, always wandering, always lies at rest.
Boundlessly straight, it bends back in reflections;

See how light shapes its body to the heavens!
How it can pour like milk, how it can pierce
Like needles! Light is calm, and light is fierce.
Mixing with none, all things it tints and leavens.

Light seems to move so rashly, so severely;
And yet it handles leaves with softer care
Than curling water, or the waving air.
I think it shows infinity more nearly

Than any other life, excepting death.
—It might be called the universe's breath.

SARAH N. CLEGHORN.

Mencius on Conquest

The people of Ts'e attacked Yen, and conquered it.

King Seuen asked, saying, "Some tell me not to take possession of it, and some tell me to take possession of it."

Mencius replied, "If the people of Yen will be pleased with your taking possession of it, do so. If the people of Yen will not be pleased with your taking possession of it, do not. . . .

"When with your kingdom of ten thousand chariots you attacked another of the same strength, and they met your Majesty's army with baskets of rice and vessels of congee, was there any other reason for this but that they hoped to escape out of fire and water? If you make the water more deep and the fire more fierce, they will just in like manner make another revolution."

—*Mencius (B. C. 372-288)*

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

Simple Aveu

My objective is simple: I want to make Italy great, respected, and feared.—*Benito Mussolini,* My Autobiography.

The Patriotic Bias

The patriotic bias is a recognized perversion of thought and judgment against which our education should guard us—*William Graham Sumner,* Folkways, *1913.*

What Is, Must Be

Pain during operations is, in the majority of cases, even desirable; its prevention or annihilation is, for the most part, hazardous to the patient.—*Dr. James Young Simpson, in* The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal *for July, 1847.*

Professional Militarists

Every national state has a class of professional militarists, who constantly play upon the nationalist emotions of their fellow citizens, particularly upon national fear and dread of the foreigner, and who perennially emphasize the competitive nature of national militarism. This class includes numerous officers of the army and navy, especially such as have retired from active service and are possessed of an abundance of leisure and zeal,—these are "experts" whose function it is now to lament the woeful unpreparedness of their country and again to laud its military destiny.—*Carlton J. H. Hayes,* Essays on Nationalism. *pp. 193, 194.*

As We Become More Civilized

In Europe, Capital Punishment has been dispensed with in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Italy (A bill embodying a limited reintroduction of the Death Penalty passed the Italian chamber in November, 1926), Lithuania, Norway, Portugal, Rumania, Sweden, and in most of the Cantons of Switzerland: in America it has been abolished in the Argentine, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Honduras, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela, and in eight States in the American Union: in Australia it has been abolished in Queensland. In some of these States the penalty has been formally removed by law from the Statute Book, in others, the penalty, though still legal, has become abrogated by disuse.—*E. Roy Calvert,* Capital Punishment in the Twentieth Century, *p. 50.*

The Seating of God's Elect

In Dedham the elders assigned seats in accordance with the amount of taxes paid by the members; but in most towns it was rank as well as property which determined precedence. In New Haven no seats were assigned to any beneath the rank of goodman, while "four backer seats in the gallery" were set aside for young men. At Saco, the people were divided into seven classes and were seated accordingly by a vote of the town. Woburn had a committee of five to assign seats to the congregation in respect to "estate, office and age," while the committeemen themselves were seated by another committee of two. Stamford voted to assign pews to its people according to "dignity, age and estate." Persons who ignored these allotments by intruding upon the pews of their neighbors were often heavily fined.—The First Americans, 1607-1690, *by Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, p. 74.*

We Know Lots of Savages

The savage mind is characteristically indifferent to novelty. —*Professor Ulysses G. Weatherly,* Social Progress.

The Selfishness of Pacifism

With regard to the great question of right which he has raised by his attitude toward war, the pacifist, in his error and selfishness, stands apart from the vast mass not only of Christians, but also of mankind.—*Captain E. J. Solano,* The Pacifist Lie, *London, 1918.*

In Scotland Under the Stuarts

The Presbyterians were hunted like criminals over the mountains. Their ears were torn from the roots. They were branded with hot irons. Their fingers were wrenched asunder by the thumbkins. The bones of their legs were shattered in the boots. Women were scourged publicly through the streets. Multitudes were transported to Barbados. An infuriated soldiery was let loose upon them, and encouraged to exercise all their ingenuity in torturing them.—*W. E. H. Lecky,* Rationalism in Europe, *Vol. 2, p. 48.*

In the Good Old Days

Since it seems that the world is now in its old age, and we are come to the end of all things . . . therefore, I say, more horribly than in any past time we now see, throughout all regions of the habitable globe, how wickedness runs riot. . . . We see bitter malice, ferocious murders, filthy defilements, violence in prelacies, wicked perfidies, vehement seditions, knavish discords, jarring schisms and deliberate treachery.—*St. Gregory the Great,* quoted in Social Life in Great Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation, *p. 189.*

Blending the Cross and Crescent

At the commencement of the recent Russo-Turkish war, the Sultan, in his dire need for help, resolved to call for volunteers, and arouse the loyal of Stamboul to arms, and that the aid of the Christian inhabitants should be asked. Thus for the first time in Moslem history a crimson banner, emblazoned with the cross and crescent, the symbols of two antagonistic religions, was paraded through the streets of Constantinople. It was heralded by weird playing upon pipes and the monotonous note of a drum. There came first, pressing through the throng, a youth, whose quietest movements were those of a maniac. Behind him were the reeds and the drum; in the rear marched a standard-bearer, and in his hands was borne aloft the flag which bore the emblems of the crescent and the cross. At sight of the lad the bystanders turned pale with excitement, and every minute some one, enchanted by the rough melody and the dancer, fell silently into the procession which followed the banner. A strange *cortege,* truly; Softas, Armenians, Old and New Turks, Greeks, and Roman Catholics, some with fez and others in turban, some with straw hats and others with bare heads—all following the lead of the frantic youth.—*George Henry Preble,* Origin and History of the American Flag, *vol. 1, p. 66.*

Pacifism in Personal Relations

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

IT is an easy and pleasant task to discuss pacifism in personal relations. For it is precisely in these relations that pacifism has won its victory—a victory so complete and final that it is difficult now to conceive that it was ever in doubt.

In international relations force still rules the world, and the program of pacifism is regarded by practical men as a foolish and on occasion dangerous dream of amiable because weak fanatics. In economic relations the jungle law prevails between competing capitalists and between similarly competing capitalists and laborers, and constant strife, both horizontal and vertical, reveals with lurid glare "the good old plan" that

> "They should take who have the power
> And they should keep who can."

In social relations we have our prisons, our police, our constabulary, our whole vast system of repression, punishment and death imposed upon the weak by the sheer physical power of the strong; and any proposal that there may be another and better way of keeping order in society is scorned as inexcusable levity when not denounced as mild insanity. Yet the very men who accept force and violence as the divinely-ordered method of controlling and directing human affairs, are most of them exemplifying in their personal relations the program of pure pacifism! In this most intimate, delicate and difficult of all phases of human contact, which once was ruled, like other relations between human beings, by the dominance of physical power, these men are dispensing with force and violence altogether. They have found this better way of which we have spoken—a way itself so simple, beautiful and effective, that it has been forgotten that there was ever any other. Yesterday, in our relations as individuals, we were all of us brutes whose reliance was "tooth and claw," just as we are still such brutes in our relations as members of the social order; today, in these personal relations, however, we are most of us men who have discovered reason and goodwill. In that one field of experience, in other words, wherein we are able to exert direct personal control over events, we have established life on an out-and-out pacifist basis. And this achievement, so hardly won, and now so quietly and happily accepted, is the prophecy of the coming victory of pacifism in those more remote international, industrial and social fields which men have yet to reclaim from the jungle to civilization.

THE most primitive and intimate of all personal relations is the sex relation between man and woman. So far as we can make out, one of the earliest forms of marriage was "marriage by capture." The man went out and seized by force the woman with whom he had chosen to consort. The helpmate thus seized by force must of course be held by force; and thus for ages the basis of the marital relation was accepted without question as the superior physical strength of the male. Long after "marriage by capture" had been succeeded by "marriage by purchase," and still later by other more civilized methods of acquisition, the laws and customs of society sustained the husband in the forceful possession of the wife. If defeated in war, for example, his wife became a part of the booty of the conqueror, to be held by him in perpetuity as wife or concubine. Euripides's "Trojan Women" shows how obediently, if tragically, this convention was accepted by women as well as men. In the ordinary relations of daily life the rule of the husband over the wife ran all the way from the ancient power of life and death to the modern power of rebuke and chastisement. As late as the early decades of the nineteenth century in England, the right of a husband to beat his wife was duly established in the statute laws of the kingdom. The growing humanity of the times imposed a limit, to be sure, upon the pain and injury which could be inflicted—the rod of his anger must not be thicker than the man's thumb! But the right itself to beat into submission was incontestable. How could it be otherwise? For a man must keep order in his household; he must hold his wife fast to the stern duties of "bed and board." And how can this be done save by the rule of force? As well expect a slave to labor without the overseer's lash, as the wife to serve without the husband's fist or stick.

But all this is now a part of the barbarism of the past. No longer is marriage established and maintained upon the basis of the physical power of the male. There is compulsion still, but it is the compulsion of love and not of force. If a man is to win a woman today, he must stir her compassion for his need and her admiration for his virtue. If a man is to hold a woman, he must bind her to him by the compelling power of pure affection. The faithful wife now stands by her husband not because she fears his strength, but because she adores his devotion. She loves him, that is all! And "love is enough." Thus slowly through the ages has the marital relation been lifted from the low plane of physical force to the high plane of "soul-force," to use Gandhi's great phrase.

If husband and wife hold together today, it is because they are "kindly-affectioned one toward another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another." Marriage, in other words, to the exact degree of its real success, is a purely pacifist institution.

WHAT is true of the relation of husband and wife is true as well of the relation of parent and child. For centuries it was believed, and among multitudes of men is still believed, that children must be disciplined by force. "Spare the rod and spoil the child" is an adage not of one language but of many. In ancient times the father had frequently the power to slay his child on an occasion of extremity. This barbaric right has been tempered in our time to various forms of corporal punishment. But at the bottom of the latter as of the former is the conviction that a natively incorrigible boy or girl must be controlled, and that control must be compassed by the threat or use of force. The superior physical power of the adult is the guarantee of order in the household. How otherwise can a child be disciplined to that capacity of self-control and self-direction which is the essence of character?

But corporal punishment, the use of force in the handling of a child, is in our time utterly discredited. In no enlightened household is the hand of the father or mother even so much as lifted against their offspring. Whipping, slapping, shutting in closets, denial of food, all penalties successfully visited upon children because the parents have the physical power to enforce their will, are now seen to be, like all use of violence, an indulgence of the primitive within us, and thus a breakdown of the very character which we would create in the child. They are above all, like all use of violence again, a resort of desperation on the part of those who know no better way.

But this better way exists—and has been found and is now being practised in many homes. To understand a child, to respect a child, to love a child—this is all that is necessary to control a child. Nay, this very word "control" is inaccurate, a survival of the old and horrid days of physical compulsion! We do not "control" children any more; rather do we liberate them into a favorable environment created and sustained by the wisdom of enlightened minds and the peace of loving hearts. Our task as parents is to discipline, not our children but ourselves, and thus to make a world in which they may grow like flowers in the sun.

The same truth holds of the school as well as of the home. As recently as the time when I was a school-boy, in public schools (in Massachusetts) rated among the first in the land, the relation between teacher and pupil was based fundamentally upon the principle of corporal punishment. No memory of my childhood is more vivid than that of the long "rattan," as it was called, which stood in the corner by the teacher's desk; and no experience of my childhood was more shocking than that of seeing this "rattan" descending viciously, stroke after stroke, upon the extended palms of my weeping and frightened playmates. This was the way the schools were run as recently as forty years ago. How else could children be controlled, and the authority of the teacher maintained? But we do not speak of "control" any more. The modern teacher does not use or even desire authority. Whereas the school yesterday was a place feared and hated by the

> ". . . whining schoolboy, with his satchel
> And shining morning face, creeping like snail
> Unwillingly to school,"

just because it was a place of authority and punishment and force, the school today is a place enjoyed and loved, and sought with eagerness and haste, because it is a place of comradeship and happy play and busy peace.

In this most difficult of all relationships, the relation between adult and child in the home, in the schoolroom and on the playfield, the use of force as the sanction of authority is swiftly going. Soon in all homes and schools, as in all enlightened homes and schools at this moment, it will be gone, and in its place will rule the law of pacifism.

IN our wider personal relations, as between man and man, the same truth holds. In earlier days the individual citizen went armed upon the street by day, and hid himself away at night in a home which was at once a fort and an arsenal. The sword or stave was as much a part of the personal equipment of a man three centuries ago as the fountain-pen or match-box is a part of the equipment of the modern man. Security of property and person demanded, according to the practice of the time, that force be ready for instant and effective use.

But we have a different practice today. The old convention still endures, rather foolishly, in the case of certain men who carry revolvers on their persons or keep them handy in their bedrooms. But most men today are emancipated from this personal bondage to the rule and armament of force. My own experience, I imagine, is typical of millions of men and women in our time. I was brought up in a household wherein firearms were taboo. I never saw a pistol or a gun except in places altogether removed from my immediate experience. For many years my father was regularly away from home for periods varying from one to three weeks, or even a month. This left my mother and the three young children alone, to guard our property and protect our lives as best we could. But we never had firearms, most of the time not even a dog, to resist a possible intruder. Now the custom of the

family has descended to me. My home is as defenseless against attack as a paper-box. Neither bolts nor bars, pistols nor swords, have any place in my household economy. As for myself, I have traveled far, been in dark places in strange cities at unseemly hours, hiked 'cross country as a stranger in a strange land, but have never carried so much as a stick to defend myself from molestation.

And this is a commonplace of experience today, is it not? The armed man is disappearing from contemporary life. The armored home is as antiquated as a medieval castle. We no longer live together as citizens on the basis of force. Slowly but surely, through centuries of evolution in social contacts, we have been learning to substitute for force the intangible but substantial virtues of trust, goodwill, and fair-play one with another; until the weapons which were yesterday regarded as necessary to security are now actually regarded as a menace to security, and in a city like New York, for example, are prohibited by law. So far have we gone in shifting the daily routine of life to a pacifist basis that I am today, as a citizen of New York, actually guilty of a crime under the laws of the State if I have a revolver on my person or in my home.

But, it may be argued, this change in social custom does not mean that force has disappeared as the sanction of order and security in personal relations. It simply means that force has changed its form, or rather its place. Weapons are carried just as much today as they ever were, only they have been transferred from the possession of the single citizen as a law unto himself to the possession of official police as the representative of the citizen. We do not undertake today to arm ourselves for defense at home and abroad for the obvious reason that there are armed men on every street corner charged professionally with this task. What we cannot do now, policemen will do for us with precisely the same weapons that our fathers used in the good old days of private arms. Behind the defenseless citizen, in other words, there stands the whole vast machinery of the police. Society exists today, as it has always existed, on the basis of force. Not so conspicuous as it used to be, this force is now infinitely more effective, since it is no longer distributed among myriad amateurs, but concentrated in the hands of professionals trained, like soldiers, to the job of shooting and killing.

To such plea of avoidance, there are two answers. First, the police system is nothing new or unique in our time. Rome was superbly policed in the classic days of her imperial power. Yet her citizens felt it as necessary to be armed as to be decently clothed and shaved. In the Middle Ages there were wide areas where the law of the king or the duke was imposed upon the people with a rigor unmatched in most areas of social life today. Yet every burgher went armed, and every traveler on the highways had his armed retainers. *Per contra,* in certain cities, not altogether unknown in our time, the police power has disintegrated under the corrosive influence of political and commercial corruption, and insecurity, so far as public control is concerned, has become rife throughout the community. But there has been no general arming of the populace, and few individual householders have felt it necessary to turn their domiciles into citadels. Such collapse of the police power, it may be said incidentally, is coincident with veritable orgies of violence upon the part of the uniformed officers of law. In Chicago, for example, which is as near to a condition of primitive anarchy as any city in this country, the police are frequently armed with rifles as well as revolvers, and patrol the streets in armored automobiles equipped, like tanks on a battle-front, with machine guns. In London, on the other hand, long famous for the orderliness of its streets and the security of its homes, the police have no weapons at all. As a matter of fact there is little causal relation between the phenomena of an unarmed citizenry and an armed police. So far have we gone in the direction of pure pacifism in our civic life that we are actually in sight of disarming the state as well as the individual in the routine associations of our daily affairs.

A second answer to our opponent's plea is found in the fact that men in all ages have explored and traveled through areas of the world which were unorganized socially, or were inhabited by savage tribes, and yet have found arms unnecessary. Most men, to be sure, have relied in such regions upon physical force for their security. They have met the spear with the sword, the arrow with the bullet. But others have gone unarmed and unafraid, on the simple basis of manly confidence in men, and have not had their trust betrayed. In the absence, in other words, of all force, save that wielded menacingly by the strange barbarians among whom they have moved, these gallant adventurers have not only survived, but have enjoyed a security and happiness unknown to those who have come breathing bloodshed and slaughter. The Quakers have given us the supreme examples of this pacifist achievement in modern times. William Penn, in his Pennsylvania experience, answered conclusively and forever the claim that there is no ultimate security in our contacts with our fellow-men, especially those of inferior culture, except in the control and exercise of superior physical force. Arms are necessary only when "hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, envyings, murders, and such like" are present in the heart. Displace these sentiments with "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance"—and weapons of wood and steel may safely be put away. "Walk in the spirit," said St. Paul, "and ye shall not fulfill the lusts of the flesh."

No, there is more, far more, in this matter of pacifism in our civic contacts as individuals than the mere transfer of arms from the citizen to the state. There is something deeper here in our peaceful relationships as citizens than reliance upon force remote and organized. What we really have today is not a new police but a new psychology, a new inward mental habit projecting itself outwardly in the form of a new social convention. Today we trust our neighbors, instead of distrusting them. We take it for granted that the great mass of our fellowmen in our community, even in our nation, are friendly, and establish our individual conduct upon this basis. Consciously or unconsciously we breathe the air of fellowship, and therewith find the whole temper of our lives transformed. The use of force as the sanction of personal life is disappearing. Already, in this our time, has pacifism become the law of men if not of nations.

THUS is pacifism coming into its own in our personal relations. This rule and discipline of action, so feverishly denounced, is nothing new or strange. Least of all is it anything quixotic, fanatical, mad. On the contrary, it is today the basis of the life we live in all the most intimate and difficult relationships of our human experience. The very men who clamor for ever greater armies and navies as the sole condition of national survival, and who rage at every suggestion of preparedness for peace instead of for war, are themselves the living witnesses, in their personal relations with their wives, their children, and their fellow-citizens, of the practicability and beauty of that law of love which some of us would now extend to all the world. Pacifism has been proved. Wherever applied, it has stood trial. Like the discovered cure of a disease, it needs only to be extended from individual test cases in the laboratory to all cases in the world at large, to bring universal healing unto men.

For human nature, in things spiritual as in things material, is everywhere the same. Two men in contact present precisely the same psychological problem as two million men in contact, just as two cells in contact present precisely the same biological problem as two million cells in contact. Indeed, these personal relations, of which we have been speaking, are at bottom social relations. Every contact between individuals transforms itself at once into a social institution. The love of husband and wife creates the home. The care of parent for child creates the school. The life of neighbor with neighbor creates the community; the life of citizen with citizen creates the state. Our pacifism, therefore, is already prevailing not only in individual experience but in social experience. Here are great institutions, formed by the relationships of individuals in daily contacts, dominated and glorified by the rule of peace. In the home, the school, the community, the nation, physical force has gone, and "soul-force" is come. What has been done, and is being done, on this smaller scale, can also be done on a vastly larger scale. The same gravitation that binds two dust-grains in the soil, binds as well two planets in the sky. So the same love that binds two brothers in the home may bind as well two nations on far-sundered continents. The law of life is one. Its fulfilment anywhere is the promise, prophecy, and pledge of its fulfilment everywhere.

Can a Good Man Stand Prepared?

What distinguishes war is, not that man is slain, but that he is slain, spoiled, crushed by the cruelty, the injustice, the treachery, the murderous hand of man. The evil is moral evil. War is the concentration of all human crimes. Here is its distinguishing, accursed brand. Under its standard gather violence, malignity, rage, fraud, perfidy, rapacity, and lust. If it only slew men, it would do little. It turns man into a beast of prey. Here is the evil of war, that man, made to be the brother, becomes the deadly foe of his kind; that man, whose duty it is to mitigate suffering, makes the infliction of suffering his study and end; that man whose office is to avert and heal the wounds which come from nature's powers, makes researches into nature's laws, and arms himself with her most awful forces, that he may become the destroyer of his race. Nor is this all. There is also found in war a cold-hearted indifference to human miseries and wrongs, perhaps more shocking than the bad passions it calls forth. To my mind, this contempt of human nature is singularly offensive. To hate expresses something like respect. But in war, man treats his brother as nothing worth; sweeps away human multitudes as insects; tramples them down as grass; mocks at their rights; and does not deign a thought to their woes. . . .

Men think it a virtuous patriotism to throw a mantle, as they call it, over their country's infirmities, to wink at her errors, to assert her most doubtful rights, to look jealously and angrily on the prosperity of rival states; and they place her honor not in unfaltering adherence to the right, but in a fiery spirit, in quick resentment, in martial courage, and especially in victory; and can a good man hold himself bound and stand prepared to engage in war at the dictate of such a state?

—*William Ellery Channing*: Lecture on War.

Akbar, Emperor of India

FELIX VALYI

CIVILIZATION no longer appears to us as the privilege of a race. History knows no chosen people. Recent discoveries in Ser-India, by which antique expression Central Asia is designated, prove the incessant fusion of human civilizations. Science has definitely freed itself from the childish prejudice which proclaims the supremacy of one race or one religion. The concept which divides humanity into two sections and which thus reproduces the ancient Hellenic notion concerning barbarians is a puerile idea of no scientific value. Orientalism is certainly not the systematic exaltation of everything Eastern. The search for knowledge is no longer to be reconciled either with panegyrics or depreciation. But the discoveries of Orientalism, almost magical in their grandeur, show us how in deserts of Asia which for thousands of years have been the realm of death have been found archives and libraries surviving empires and dogmas, discoveries which affirm the permanent value of human genius. Orientalism is now slowly transforming several of the fundamental notions of the Western conscience.

The destiny of Man has been made and re-made during thousands of years among the great Asiatic mountains. From that immense reservoir of human energy have emerged most of the great nations which people human history, nations primitive at first, riding across the steppes in search of pasturage, living from hand to mouth, starving sometimes, pushed by the instinct of self-preservation to lay hold on the more fertile countries in their neighborhood, ignoring comfort for centuries, but intrepid, knowing how to suffer, how to obey hereditary chiefs, disciplined so long as their chief keeps his prestige, ready for any great exploit, always lying in wait for new adventures. These races whose origin is lost in the dusky legends of the Grey Wolf and the Hind of Light, but whom Comparative Ethnography suspects to be of very ancient Turkish root, are not all of the same value. But those among their tribes who did not perish in the course of their migrations, those who, after an excessively hard and cruel life, succeeded in opening for themselves an access to more habitable regions, whether China or India, Persia, Asia Minor, or Europe, such as the Hungarians and the Finns, transformed themselves into civilized nations and produced great men, great thinkers, great artists and great organizers.

The greatest man of genius in all Islamic history was undoubtedly Akbar, the emperor of India, who organized the Indian continent on a basis of equal justice of Moslems and Hindus. His grandfather, Baber, wrote beautiful poems on the violets, tulips and roses of his native land, Ferghana; Akbar dreamed of the spiritual unity of all mankind. This Moslem Emperor, one of the greatest thinkers not only of Islam, but of all humanity, who had received from his father hardly more than the Punjab, was the veritable creator of the Indian Empire, whose frontiers he stretched to the Deccan and which accepted him willingly. He protected his subjects without distinction of race, caste or creed, gave back to the Hindus all their rights which had been lost to them by conquest, even forbade slavery of women and of children of rebels.

AKBAR has been compared to Louis XIV, Peter the Great and Richelieu. He is certainly their equal as a statesman; he surpasses them as a thinker. I do not speak of those lofty sentiments which led him to raise monuments in honor of the vanquished Rajputs, but of his thought, of his value as a philosopher. The Emperor is eclipsed by the Man. Enfranchised from dogmatism, friend of the Sufis, enemy of all fanaticism, seeking truth before all things, dreaming of the synthesis of all religions Akbar invited to his court scholars of all countries, lamas from Tibet, hermits from the Lebanon, priests from Mongolia, Parsis, Portuguese monks recently landed on the shores of India, French and English visitors who came for trade, and discussed with them the future of the world.

He recognized no state religion, allowed no pressure to be put upon the Hindus to abandon their religion, invited them to choose freely between Islam and Hinduism, and proclaimed freedom of conscience. He ordered the translation into Persian and into Hindustani of the Vedas, of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, as well as of the Gospel, and of the divers systems of Indian philosophy. He passed long hours of the night on the terrace of his palace in Agra listening to explanations of the symbolic beauty in Hindu pantheism. He had a *vihara* built for the Buddhists at his court and ordered his palace to be decorated by Chinese artists. The Portuguese Jesuits, lodged in the imperial palace, showed him one day a portrait of the Madonna: Akbar found it so beautiful that he ordered a copy to be made for his bedroom, hid it behind a curtain and contemplated the Madonna every evening when, far from the fanaticism of the crowds, he was able to remain alone, or in the company of philosophers, like his intimate friend, Abul Fazl. So profoundly penetrated was he by the lessons of charity

given by Buddhism and Sufism that one day he cried: "Would to God that my body were great enough to give food to all men, then no longer should animals suffer for them!"

You may recognize here the language of Asoka: the third century B. C. and the sixteenth century in modern India, the one Buddhist, and the other Mohammedan, join hands across two thousand years. Akbar dreamed of the spiritual unity of mankind, not only of India. In his soul was syncretized the pantheist ecstasy of the Vedas, the universal charity of Buddha and Jesus, the grandiose poetry of the Solar Cult, and the profound beauty of Islamic mysticism. (*Reprinted with permission from* The Review of Nations.)

Adult Education in Denmark

ERIC H. THOMSEN

THE rich interpretations of local folk lore by the old nursemaid, the affectionate care of a mother whose ancestry claimed some of the foremost of Danish chieftains and statesmen, and who proverbially would rather be "lifeless than witless," six years of private tuition in a Jutland parsonage on the moors with square miles of heather for a campus, peasants and bees for companions, a handful of good books for his library, unrestricted by assignments, delivered from the inanity of tests, drawing much of his religious inspiration from glowing sunsets no less than from the simple beauty and power of Kingo's old evening songs —such, briefly, were the circumstances under which the youth grew into young manhood who matriculated at the University of Copenhagen in 1800 as Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig but was to become known as the Danish Carlyle, and to exert tremendous influence on a nation whose spirit has become paralyzed, whose initiative was numb with national calamity.

The chief contribution of Grundtvig during his long life, whether as a parson, a poet, or a prophet, was to arouse the people and generate the power for the folk high school movement that presently became the religious and cultural foundation on which the coöperative movement in agriculture evolved in Denmark into a leavening that changed the life of the nation.

His vision of the new day for the common people was rooted in profound personal religious experience that had carried him almost to the borderland of insanity, but resulted finally in a re-discovery of the meaning of the life and person of Jesus. With his knowledge of the epic sagas of the Northmen, he proposed a new age of glorious deeds in the spirit of the living Christ by and for the common people. The Danish farmer was in a bad way. Surely. What was needed was a changed farmer. For all practical purposes neither institutional religion nor institutional education could be depended on for any great help.

The schools of higher learning were controlled by and catering to a self-perpetuating small group of doctors, lawyers, clergymen, and statesmen; the masses of the people had only elementary schooling. The university, dominated by the academicians, was as impotent as was the church whose mistaken emphasis on blind faith apart from growing life was not even remotely connected with the needs of the people. Grundtvig's life-long troubles arose substantially from his constant blunt insistence that both of these institutions fell far short of what they might become. Finally he was ready to do without either. He invited the common people to take new courage and rise to a new life of fearless action, dealing with the facts of life in the spirit of the living Christ who had, to Grundtvig, become the center of all history.

No more than his master, however, did Grundtvig lay down a rigid program. Rather he depended on the ingenuity and on the resourcefulness of those who caught the vision, to adapt it to their respective needs. The real success or failure was not in anything Grundtvig said or did, but rested with those few pioneers who boldly set out to risk their all by hitching their lives to a star, variously interpreting it, each to his own group, without losing any of its radiance, and never suffering their manifold activities to disrupt their human fellowship together, or their dependence on the "living word."

THE interesting thing about these men is that they were not all country born and country bred. Some were raised in Copenhagen and at the university. Some were neither; they were village craftsmen and school teachers. One was a Jew, the son of a city merchant. They had nothing in common except the vision which they had caught from this heretical "half minstrel, half book-worm," Grundtvig. Many of them had nothing which would commend them in scholarly circles to anything but scorn and ridicule which indeed became their portion.

There was Christian Flor, born and educated in Copenhagen, and who, as a village pastor and later, a professor at the university in Kiel, so far believed in connecting the classroom with life that he became the outstanding leader of the nationalist cause in South Jutland and as such was instrumental in financing the purchase of the farm at Rodding which was the first Grundtvigian folk high school.

When Denmark lost Schleswig in the war of 1863, the school had to be moved north of the new border line to Askov. There it came into national and international prominence under the leadership of Ludvig Schroeder who had become profoundly interested in Christianity through the writings of Grundtvig.

To impart information had been the chief method at Rodding lately—so easily is a prophet's great vision lost even in his own life time—but Schroeder, who had come to know Christen Kold, put the main emphasis on the free and spontaneous development of each of his student friends.

Kold was twenty years older than Schroeder and the son of a cobbler. As an adolescent youth he went through a severe religious crisis and grew into young manhood under the influence of a mother whose stories of Christian living had stirred him throughout his childhood. After having been trained to become a teacher, he found it impossible to secure a steady position because the authorities objected to his connection with various unorthodox religious assemblies—the very sources of his vision and power.

Unable to open a private school and unable likewise to find a place within the public schools, he went to Copenhagen and, at 25, apprenticed himself to a bookbinder. The following year he left for Smyrna as a servant to Parson Hass, the missionary, and set up shop as a bookbinder. In 1847 he returned and walked back across Europe from Trieste to his native Thisted in Denmark. After the war of 1848-50, he started a free school in Dalby, but within ten years built a large new school at Dalum by Odense where he gathered some one hundred men and women around him. Grounding his teaching in history and guided by his splendid vision and his wide experience in life, he considered a Christian popular awakening the main object of education; information was to him a matter of secondary importance.

It became Schroeder's chief contribution to the folk high school movement to weld these two currents into one: the historical discourse and the personal challenge to spiritual awakening. Schroeder fully realized that while life started, when its course within had been awakened and liberated, there was still a place for accurate information, a knowledge of the facts. Under his leadership, therefore, Askov soon developed into that advanced high school of which Grundtvig dreamed, and after Kold's and Grundtvig's death, Schroeder was the undisputed leader of the folk high school movement.

OF that group of kindred spirits known as "Little Theologicum" who met with Schroeder during their student days at the university, Christoffer Bagoe and Jens Norregaard started Testrup High School near Aarhus in 1866 and carried it on together for forty-two years.

Ernest Trier, a fourth member of the group, was a Jew, born and bred in Copenhagen of a family of prominent merchants. As a student at the university he had come more and more under the spell of Grundtvig's preaching. After the war of 1864 he spent some time on Funen Island and came to know Christen Kold and his school in Dalum. His impressions of Kold and the general post-war despair caused Trier to decide to throw his life in with the young generation which would have to carry on. Under very modest circumstances he began a folk high school on a farm in Vallekilde in 1865. Presently it became the most sought after school with a constant attendance of some two hundred young men and women. New buildings rose and a great gymnasium was built through which the Swedish Link system of physical education was introduced into Denmark. Beautiful objects of art adorned the school rooms and grounds, witnesses alike to Trier's love of beauty and to his many friendships with the great artists of his day.

Trier's nephew, Johan Borup, carried the folk high school idea into Copenhagen in 1891 and successfully adapted it to the needs of the city laborers in the rising trade unions as well as to the trades people.

THERE is a distinctive mark about those folk high school people. They radiate freedom, poise, contagious good cheer, balanced personalities, lives filled with purpose. But have they any contribution to make to American life? At a time when much of our "education" has degenerated into mere pettiness and ward politics, when real teachers are dismissed because of their convictions and real blockheads are retained because they do not indulge in convictions, when two-thirds of the population pay no attention to a church whose authority rests in a remote past but has nothing to say to a puzzled youth of today—is there a place in American life for a form of adult education which will hold up to us the glorious vision of Christ, less concerned about understanding him than about following him, which will rescue from the clutches of recent political vandalism the heritage of freedom and civic liberty of the only people whose national existence is based on an ideal? If there is, we have much to learn from these fearless and consecrated pioneers of the Danish folk high schools. It would be a mistake to look upon these schools merely as an idea to be transplanted and organized. They were living symbols, symbols of an intense personal consecration of simple men of great vision who dared to live ideal lives in an unideal world. We shall miss the point completely unless we understand that and are willing, like them, to make a bold venture. After all "the violent take the kingdom by force!"

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

American Imperialism

AS a series of studies in American imperialism, the Vanguard Press has recently published three significant volumes: *Our Cuban Colony, A Study in Sugar,* by Leland Hamilton Jenks; *The Americans in Santo Domingo,* by Melvin M. Knight; and *The Bankers in Bolivia, A Study in American Foreign Investment,* by Margaret Alexander Marsh. The money for making them and in part for publication was obtained from some of the well-known Foundations. The work has been edited by Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, which is a sufficient assurance of its timeliness and sprightly character, while the research and writing have been carried on by scholars who were familiar with the field and sympathetic with the purpose that prompted publication. Each volume is accompanied by a bibliography and documents, while numerous footnotes give references to the sources. Whatever questions may be aroused by the titles and by the methods of distribution with the inevitable suggestion of propaganda, the authorship and editorial work call for respectful attention.

The title pages, the editorial introduction, and the texts suggest that economic imperialism is a reality and that its reactions profoundly affect the nations involved and especially the United States both in their foreign and domestic policy. One learns, however, that economic imperialism is not always accompanied by military intervention. Those who resort to it often accomplish their purpose better by not asking for political interference. Nor are all manifestations of contemporary imperialism bad. Capital needs an outlet; the more progressive countries require the raw products of their less fortunate neighbors. Their representatives abroad bring to the latter desirable improvements in public matters, in conditions of labor, and often in fiscal affairs. Modern imperialism seems to differ from its ancient prototype in that it takes hold of the resources of a country and leaves its people and its lands to themselves, a theory that these volumes show is often belied in actual practice.

In the series, three countries of Hispanic America were selected for careful study. Cuba, theoretically independent, is frankly treated as an economic protectorate of the United States. Its status as such was definitely fixed in the Platt Amendment, although varying degrees of interference have characterized procedure under that enactment. Professor Jenks frankly concludes that this provocative curb has outlived its usefulness. Nevertheless, we may anticipate that for many years to come sugar and secrecy, not to mention tobacco, iron ore, and public utilities will continue to make that island the "sacred cow" of American diplomacy.

Santo Domingo long presented a problem in possible annexation. Now the "interests," aided for a period by the marines, have found other methods more tolerable, if not wholly satisfactory, even when subject at times to the control of "deserving Democrats" and their inept sponsors.

Bolivia has its tin and its "Bronze Race." The former is a rich resource but is neutralized by a "licked" people. The Indian is plodding, obedient, lazy, and is designedly kept in ignorance. Unwise fiscal methods tie up about half of the country's revenues, with recent loans affording no prospect of ready relief. Intervention has fortunately not yet passed beyond the economic phase, but there is little assurance that it will not do so.

The volumes attempt to set forth the evils of economic intervention with, perhaps, too little emphasis upon accompanying material benefits. They present, therefore, a view that is not wholly fair, but within the limits they set for themselves their conclusions are sound, temperately expressed, and thought-provoking and they will help to open our eyes to some of the consequences of modern economic development. (Vanguard Press, each $1.00.)

ISAAC J. COX

War Lies We Believed

FEW people remain so unsophisticated or disillusioned about the World War as not to realize that they were hoodwinked by deliberate propaganda based on lies. No nation was exempt from the stories of atrocities and enemy brutality, no government not guilty of purposeful distortion. However, the actual extent to which the everyday thinking of the public was colored by war lies is comprehended even now only by a handful of specialists who have taken pains to dig up these foul growths by the roots and find the facts about their sources. Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, the noted British pacifist, is such a specialist. Without pretending to make an exhaustive study of the subject, he has gathered some of the more widely current yarns of the war days and published them under the title *Falsehood in War-Time.*

Even the hardiest pacifist sceptic fell for some of the tales, for they were often prepared with consummate cleverness; and one is justified in fearing dire deeds by any country or people under the provocation of war excitation. But the masses of the warring countries swallowed the most lurid propaganda as gospel, and as Mr. Ponsonby slyly says, "the inmates of colleges are just as credulous as the inmates of the slums." Also, this reviewer would add, less scrupulous; for the concoctions which aroused the mob to wildest hatred originated usually in the minds of the formally educated.

Not all war lies are invented; some start from slight bits of truth and travel about, expanding like dum-dum bullets as they strike the populace. Fevered minds often elaborate true incidents into gigantic nightmares. But in war-time, Mr. Ponsonby feels, "the authoritative organization of lying is not sufficiently recognized. . . . When the generation that has known war is still alive, it is well that they should be given chapter and verse with regard to some of the best-known cries, catchwords, and exhortations by which they were so greatly influenced. As a warning therefore, this collection is made."

Chapter and verse are given, indeed, about the supposed passage of Russian troops through England, the myth of Germany's sole guilt, the fable of England's freedom from any binding prewar agreement to back France, the pious horror of Allied statesmen over the invasion of Belgium, the mutilated nurses, the crucified Canadians, the Belgian babies with hands cut off, the tattooing of prisoners of war taken by the Germans, the corpse factory wherein the Germans cooked fat from their dead for soap, the sinking of the "munition free" Lusitania, the convincing "official" documents sent forth by governmental agencies, the "actual" photographs, the "idealistic" war aims.

That a world revolution with wholesale executions of official liars in all governments did not immediately follow the Armistice is perhaps a tribute to the forgiving nature of men, or, more likely, a testimonial to the fact that people recovered but gradually from their miasma of misinformation.

What Mr. Ponsonby has done briefly someone ought to do with encyclopedic thoroughness. At best this would only be locking the door after the horse is hitched to the chariot; but for the sake of the few in the speedy age ahead who might come across such a record in the dim past of a couple of decades gone and thereafter look less trustfully upon war-mongers, the job would be worth while. Meantime this collection is decidedly to the good. It is published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, in London. A few copies are available directly from the office of THE WORLD TOMORROW at $1.00 each, postpaid. D. A.

Radicalism Explained

IN these days Emerson would have to rewrite his essay on Compensation. The word no longer covers merely an interesting group of phenomena in the natural and social world; it has become the key to the understanding of man. Wayland F. Vaughan in *The Lure of Superiority* does not claim that it is the one principle by which all behavior can be psychologically explained, but he comes close to demonstrating that it is.

Are you defective in physique, health, special organs or capacities, wealth, education, social standing, experience, intelligence, character, or self-expression? Then, as sure as the sun shines, you are going to try to compensate for the sense of inferiority that such a handicap brings by developing in some other direction. Dr. Vaughan traces these reactions through in an unusually interesting way. Of course it brings one up against the question as to whether there is any place left for the rational choice of objectives in life, or whether there is any standing ground for disinterested idealism. But those questions must be faced.

An especially interesting section of the book deals with the compensatory drive in the group. In the Labor movement, in various phases of radicalism and in feminism, Dr. Vaughan finds the same reactions forming the dominant motivation of the group. "The essential characteristic of the radical," he says, "is his readiness to project his own shortcomings upon the social system—in short, to substitute class for personal problems." This leads to interesting speculations as to just why the editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW, for instance, are radicals, but charity compels us to refrain.*

The part that religion plays in helping people to sublimate their weaknesses is given an illuminating and sympathetic treatment, and the book closes with suggestive studies of Schopenhauer and Abraham Lincoln. (Henry Holt and Co., $3.00.)

PAUL JONES

* Thanks!—THE EDITORS.

A Quaker Estimate of Bolshevism

IT IS difficult to discover two groups whose methods are further apart than those of the Friends and the Bolsheviks. On the one hand is found reliance upon love and spiritual processes, with an utter repudiation of violence and war; on the other, dependence upon class hatred and violent dictatorship, with contempt for religion and pacifism. And yet Mrs. D. F. Buxton, in her little volume *The Challenge of Bolshevism,* says that "what impressed me most in Russia was a sense of the moral advance represented in the new order of society which the Communists are trying to establish." Critical and yet appreciative is the tone of this book. A wide reading in the United States would help to dispel many illusions and stimulate clearer thinking concerning the paradox of Bolshevism. (Published by George Allen and Unwin, London, 2s. 6d.) K. P.

The Unending War

A "SENSITIVE, terrible war novel" is the characterization given by its publisher to *The Bitter End,* by John Brophy, an Englishman who must certainly have been himself a participant in the World War. The experience of seventeen-year-old Donald Foster, who volunteered in August of 1914 and served as a private to the very end, is vividly portrayed not only as an immediate life experience involving the boy's romance life, his estrangement from his family due to the forced maturity which came with service in the trenches, his hospital and convalescent days in England and at home, and the inevitable changes in his philosophy of life and his relationships with men and God, but is interpreted in the light of ten years of subsequent living in which the ideals he thought he was fighting for have not been fulfilled.

Simple but powerful descriptions and a clear reading of motives which are subtly operating both at the front and on the home base, combined with a fine sense of the futility of war as a method of settling international difficulties and a restraint which increases rather than diminishes one's sense of the reality of it all, make it a book which will not let its readers forget the true meaning of war in ten, twenty or even fifty years. (Dutton, $2.50.)

AMY BLANCHE GREENE

Oriental Philosophy

WIDE travel and wider reading, great experience and greater enthusiasm, practised skill as an interpreter of the Orient and even more as a writer of romances—all these have gone into the making of *The Story of Oriental Philosophy.* Can the public and critics ask more? More than half mankind are guided by the ideas and beliefs discussed by Mrs. L. Adams Beck in this delightful book, and if at times the Barrington touch is to be noted too clearly—well, it is only the pundits who will spot it. And they ought to keep silent, for in all these long years they have failed to do what she has done. In their deep knowledge of languages and in their fear of vulgarizing the wisdom of the East, they have not succeeded in gaining the public ear. The great Oxford library of the Sacred Books of the East has had its honored place on the reference shelves of libraries, and the excellent little series "The Wisdom of the East" has been widely read. But readers have been apt to study either the Buddha, or Confucius, or Lao Tze, or Sri Krishna, or the Persian mystics. They are all here, an impressive gallery revealing the enormous place of religion in Asiatic life, and something of the heights which

it has reached. And there is more connection of thought in the way they are brought together than one would have expected to find, for the author has sat at the feet of each in turn. The book, in fact, suffers a little from the personal note, and at times the emphasis on Yoga may seem overdone in a book on philosophy. But this is a matter of individual judgment, and the book is free from such glaring fundamental fallacies as mar its predecessor, "This Believing World" (it is amusing, by the way, to find religious book concerns assiduously pushing a book which makes religion a matter of fear, and would have a disastrous effect if taken seriously).

The Story of Oriental Philosophy is free, too, from the irritating tendency found in books on "comparative religion," a strange title which still persists. It does not compare things which are not comparable. And as we are not in much danger of becoming yogis in this country, it ought to have a wide and beneficial circulation. Certainly until we understand the religion and philosophy of the Orient, we shall not have the right attitude toward its peoples. They ask as a first step that we study their civilization; and Mrs. Beck is one of the best guides available. (Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, $5.00).

KENNETH SAUNDERS

Youth of the World—Unite!

IT is still an unsettled question whether the old and wise or the young and enthusiastic are going to save the world. The young have an advantage in the argument because the old have botched the job badly. On the other hand, the young, particularly certain youth groups, have developed a rather serious attack of sentimental mooning. It is an encouraging sign that a booklet like *Fuer einen Weltbund der Jugend* should come out of Germany at this time. Twenty-five representatives of widely differing groups discuss the possibility of a world youth movement. They are realistic; they see difficulties and problems. But they also see possibilities and harbor hope. One comes away with a curious questioning: Why are there enough plans for the remaking of the world to pave the entire length of the Lincoln Highway and still so little experimenting? If and when the youth of the world unites, shall we have more than paper programs? (Lothar Schmidt, Frankfurt a. M., Mk. 1.50). H. C. E.

Jesus in Poetry

IF the poetry of today is anything at all in contrast to the poetry of yesterday, it is unpreachy. For that special reason apart from the fact that a personality like that of Jesus' requires poetry to do it justice, one grasps eagerly at such an anthology as *Christ in the Poetry of Today,* compiled and reassembled by Elvira Slack from earlier volumes prepared under the hand of the late Martha Foote Crow.

This new collection is markedly an advance over the last one, which the reviewer read when it came out a few years ago. A heavy portion of it consists of verse not present before. The compiler has not introduced so much modern verse out of any prepossession; but she has recognized the extent to which poets, the same as other people, have been stirred by a new appreciation of Jesus consequent to the growing disregard of theological approaches to his life and teachings.

Having discovered so much sincere verse that is free from preachiness, what a pity that Miss Slack did not let it speak for itself! A preacher utilizing these poems for homiletic material might find it all very well to follow each poem with a line from the Scriptures pointing the moral; but one who believes that where poet and preacher meet, the poet should have the right of way so far as poetry is concerned, would be tempted to follow a bad example and put after each of these interpolations a line which declares, "and there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." If a poem is good enough to go into such a volume, it ought to be able to stand on its own feet; these embellishments make the poems unwarrantably stilted.

There are poems to suit the taste of the fussy, that is to say, those who run verse through a merciless gantlet of high standards. Too much of it is the sort that falters before getting far down the line. While Edgar Guest is not among those present, there are others who do not greatly excel the syndicating songster. For those who are persnickerty and believe that all is not poetry that tum-tums, the elimination of about three dozen poems would make this a more delightful book. Nevertheless, it is a distinct gain over the earlier anthologies, and should have a steady popularity. Not much of the choicest recent verse has been omitted, so if the average is not higher that is the responsibility of the poets. Many lovely, haunting poems are represented, some that bite and sear, some written in moods of austere reflection, some that are lively with the movement of impatient youth. All in all, a worthy choir. (The Womans Press, $2.50.) D. A.

The Stammering Century

THIS is the title chosen by Gilbert Seldes for his fascinating story of cults and manias and colonies during the nineteenth century. They are all here: quacks, phrenologists, free-lovers, communists, evangelists, theosophists, millenarians, iconoclasts of every variety. One turns these pages with growing amazement at the credulity of the human mind. In seeking to throw off the ancient superstitions and hoary shibboleths which intoxicate majorities, innovators frequently offer panaceas which are even more inebriating. These delusions are not confined to the booboisie. "The astounding thing," says Mr. Seldes, "about almost all the quackeries, fads and movements of the past hundred years in America is that they were first accepted by superior people, by men and women of education, intelligence, breeding, wealth and experience." Conservatives and reactionaries should be warned against this volume: it will merely increase their complacency. But reformers and idealists should ponder long upon its contents. To be intelligent though radical—how few there be who attain this invincible combination! (John Day, $5.00.)

K. P.

Brailsford Surveys World Affairs

"THE political form of the world has ceased to correspond to its economic needs. The problem of our generation is to find this form. Will it come first of all by continent groupings? Will it come through the triumphant dictation of internationally organized capital? Will it be imposed by a Muscovite revolution? Or will it steal upon us gradually through the development of the League of Nations?" This is what not only Mr. H. N. Brailsford but thoughtful people everywhere, would like to know. They do not know, and of course in anticipation of the event they never will know. Mr. Brailsford's *Olives of Endless Age,* a substantial book of brilliant, informed, comprehensive, and delightfully styled essays, would be hard to excel for its depiction of the complex economic and political factors involved in the ultimate solution of the question. (Harper and Brothers, $3.50.) D. A.

A Convict's Saga

SINCE Robert Lowrie, years ago, wrote "My Life in Prison" and popularized thereby the cause of prison reform, nothing rom a convict's typewriter has approached the sheer force and ompetence of *Grimhaven,* by Robert Joyce Tasker. Tasker, a oung man only half through his twenties, is serving an inde-rminate sentence, for robbery, in San Quentin prison. While here he has learned to write. There is nothing extraordinary bout that—a great many prisoners write. The difference is that Tasker can *write.* His sentences, when he wants them to, crack nd sting like a goad; or they take you into his moods of pa-hetic, somber rumination. His is already a hard mind in the iterary sense; that is to say, he has learned restraint—and I imply o crass witticism. It is the romantics who are the more likely otential offenders. Tasker has himself in hand; he has become man and put away childish things. Thus to the vivid picture f life in a great penitentiary he adds the colors, now bright, now lun, of his own thought. No saintly resignation, no shallow entiment; but yet a wistful eagerness not to be denied. His mpatience with the clumsy ways of the state toward its offen-lers is apparent, but he does not idealize the victims of the prison ystem. Not all of the book is pretty—somehow prisons are not un that way. (Knopf, $3.00.) D. A.

The Treason of the Intellectuals

THAT the intellectuals of the world have sold out to util-itarianism, leaving their proper devotion to truth and human-ty, is the theme of Julien Benda's scorching analysis, under the bove title, of the current leaders of thought. By taking on olitical passions, the intellectuals have played the game of the tate, espoused war and conflict and lost that universalism which s their true reason for existence. While it is the European scene hat Benda deals with, his contention is even more true as re-ards America, for we have had fewer thinkers of real detach-ment. And since peace, as he shrewdly suggests, "is only possible f men cease to place their happiness in the possession of things which cannot be shared,' and if they raise themselves to a point where they adopt an abstract principle superior to their egotisms," he outlook, due to this treason, is not bright. (Wm. Morrow nd Co., $2.50.) Paul Jones

An Artist's Civilization

TO a soldier and civil administrator civilization is identical with order. The engineer and business man regard civiliza-ion as synonymous with the development of physical comfort and ower. The philosopher interprets civilization as the rational con-rol of society's impulses and passions. How would an artist de-ine civilization? Clive Bell gives us an interesting answer in his ost recent book, *Civilization.* He rules out moral tests by ob-erving that primitive communities have frequently been more igorous than civilized societies in preserving such moral standards s monogamous marriage and patriotic loyalty. Physical comfort as nothing to do with civilization. In fact, the highest civiliza-ions were characterized by indifference to physical comfort, by a willingness to sacrifice comfort for style. "Comfort," declares Mr. Bell, "came in with the middle classes," the Philistines.

The characteristics of civilization according to Mr. Bell are wo: a sense of values and reason enthroned. The civilized man istinguishes himself from the primitive by preferring values to things and by a rational emancipation from taboos and prejudices including the "sense of sin." Abstractly that does not seem to be such a bad definition. But when Mr. Bell fills it with specific meaning the prejudices of an artist are immediately apparent. The highest symbol of civilization he knows is the dinner party described in Plato's Symposium, where profound discourse on art and philosophy is interspersed with ribald jests, the whole ending in a drunken orgy. The paragons of civilization which become his norm for testing all other cultural achievements are interesting. Fifth century Athens naturally leads the list. All Roman periods are ruled out. We ought incidentally get more clarity on terminology. Spengler thinks Greece had a culture without a civilization and Rome a civilization without a culture. His definition of civilization as preoccupation with extensive rather than intensive values is the very opposite of that implied in Clive Bell's treatise, and in many respects more accurate. Bell is really writing not about civilization but "Kultur." But by whatever name it is called, the Italian Renaissance represents its next paragon. Only one other civilization is worthy of mention, eighteenth century France.

In every case the judgment is obviously prejudiced by the particular bias of the artist, who values only love of beauty as the highest good and to whom any sign of moral tension is synonymous with the kind of fanaticism which a high sense of values does not allow. Of course the book is delightfully written and worth reading even by those who can accept only a small portion of its prejudices. (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50.) R. N.

Recent Gains in Purity

FROM an extensive knowledge of obscenity laws in this and other countries, Morris L. Ernst and William Seagle, in *To the Pure,* present a comprehensive account of censorship battles from which the deduction arises that in freedom rather than in repression of expression lies the cure for obscenity. The authors deplore existing laws without losing their tempers at those who carry them out. They leave the reader to decide for himself how ridiculous certain rulings are, citing such instances as the banning in one city of a book which is required reading in a university across the river, and the so-called moral turpitude during one period of a volume which is pronounced innocent within a few months. *To the Pure* serves as an authoritative document to writers, publishers, and sellers of books as well as a source book of information to laymen who ask "what's all the shooting for?" when they read of the censoring of a current book or play. Whether it can create sufficient agitation to improve existing laws is problematical. (Viking Press, $3.00.)

Lee Ginter

Latin American History

NO volumes in the history of the Latin American nations, written by authors of Hispanic American origin, are available in English. No atlas of Hispanic American history. However, thanks to the University of North Carolina Press, a series of books will soon be published to meet this glaring need, and the project is one which must commend itself to all believers in the development of international understanding. The proposed series consists of fifteen books, to be translated and edited by English-speaking experts in the various fields. Information will be given in detail by the North Carolina University Press, Chapel Hill, N. C.

BETTER BOOKS *for* ALL-ROUND READING

Moses, by Louis Untermeyer. 1928. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 5 x 8. 387 pages. $2.50. This first novel of Mr. Untermeyer's is a modern psychological reconstruction of an ancient setting. He takes the Biblical stories of the Hebrews in Egypt and the Exodus up to the moment of their entrance into Canaan and reconstructs them to fit his version of Moses, the man, and his motives.

The Story of Buddha and Buddhism, His Life and Sayings, edited by Brian Brown. Philadelphia: David McKay Co. 1928. 8¼ x 5½. 290 pages. $2.50. To sophisticates, this will not be an indispensable volume; but to those who do not know Karma from Nirvana it will be a treasure. The great one really speaks through this edition of his teachings.

The Story of Confucius, His Life and Sayings, edited by Brian Brown. Philadelphia: David McKay Co. 1928. Similar in size, price, and make-up to the Story of Buddha. The two books come attractively boxed at $5.00. An excellent antidote for Occidental narrow-mindedness.

Modern Religious Dramas, edited by Fred Eastman. New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1928. 9¼ x 6¼. 326 pages. $3.00. Thirteen plays and pageants of unusual merit in which the social message of good will is not overloaded.

We Fight for Oil, by Ludwell Denny. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1928. 8¾ x 5½. 297 pages. $3.00. A vivid story of the struggle for petroleum supremacy between the United States and Britain. The new oil-from-coal process may throw the issue into a field unrealized by Mr. Denny; but meantime the race is fraught—as orators say—with peril.

"Harold the Webbed or The Young Vykings," by Trader Horn and Ethelreda Lewis. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1928. 6 x 9. 275 pages. $3.50. So-called Trader Horn writes a story, so-called, and reflects on life, so-called. This "homo stultus" found it an uproarious book.

The Science of Public Welfare, by Robert W. Kelso. New York: Henry Holt, 1928. 6 x 9. 428 pages. $3.50. Summarizing our present knowledge about poor relief, crime, prisons, the insane, neglected children, public health, etc. A very useful historical introduction precedes each section.

The Wars of the Godly, by Reuben Maury. New York: McBride, 1928. 6 x 9. 318 pages. $3.50. Reviewing the long and bitter struggle of religions in America, particularly the fight of the KAP's, the A.P.A.'s, the K. K. K. and other bigots against the Catholics. A good book for this campaign year.

Karl Marx's Interpretation of History, by Mandell M. Bober. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927. 6 x 9. 370 pages. $3.50. Marxian and capitalist alike will find this critical study of value. Even the non-Marxian may incline to the view that Bober underestimates the moving power Marx in the lives of men.

The Bible Unlocked, by Henry Martin Battenhouse. New Yor The Century Co., 1928. 6 x 9. 553 pages. $3.50. Profess Battenhouse rightly thinks the Bible not as simple to gra as simple folk have often felt. His book is intended for t non-professional student of a book which is at once histo and legend, high moral teaching and primitive tribal ethi a record of base and prophetic character.

The Story of the Ten Commandments, by Conrad H. Moehlma New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1928. 5½ x 8½. 2 pages. $2.50. If we hadn't seen it, we wouldn't believe Moehlman has analyzed the old decalogue and made its r lationships live in terms of modern social problems; he su gests a new decalogue adapted to modern needs. To t conservative, a daring book; to the radical, evidence that t world do move.

The Temptation of Anthony and Other Poems, by Isid Schneider. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1928. 5¼ x 7 141 pages. $2. Vigorous, unusual poetry; characters not a ways sufficiently individual, mayhap; but fresh, powerf imagery and a novel theme—a high-minded "atheist" tempt toward acceptance of a belittling religion and God by sma town neighbors.

Fireflies, by Rabindranath Tagore. New York: The Macmill Co., 1928. 5¼ x 7¾. 274 pages. $2.50. As brief as hok these jeweled thoughts are printed one to a page, with love but repetitious designs by Boris Artzybasheff. Here a samples: "From the solemn gloom of the temple children r out to sit in the dust; God watches them play and forgets t priest." "The clumsiness of power spoils the key, and us the pickaxe."

The Words of Christ Commonly Quoted For or Against Wa a Compendium for Study Groups, prepared by a committee the New York Presbytery—Mrs. John Sherman Hoyt, Ha old A. Hatch, and Allen S. Wilber. A 44-page pamphl May be ordered from the Federal Council of Churches, 1 E. 22nd St., New York, at 15c or 10c in quantity. A scholarl and open-minded effort to arrive at a truthful interpretati of Jesus' teaching.

The Warfare of Reconciliation, by John S. Hoyland. Londo George Allen and Unwin, 1928. 7½ x 5. 189 pages. Fiv shillings. A study of the power of applied love in huma relations.

Good Morning America, by Carl Sandburg. New York: Ha court, Brace and Co., 1928. 8¼ x 5¾. 251 pages. $3.00. T inimitable Sandburg with poems written since "Slabs of t Sunburnt West." The zip of slang and bang, but also t tender pieces in their incredible contrast.

Hunger Fighters, by Paul de Kruif. New York: Harcour Brace and Co., 1928. 8¾ x 5¾. 377 pages. $3.00. You nev heard of most of these men, probably; nobody wrapped the with the flag. But they were the fighters of peace, wrestin new secrets from Mother Nature. Who says non-military li is dull? Not for such as these!

The Child and the World, by Margaret Naumburg. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1928. 8¾ x 5¾. 328 pages. $3.50. Dialogues in modern education, informal, and covering many moot questions, by the prophetic founder of the famous Walden School.

School and Society in Chicago, by George S. Counts. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1928. 5 x 8. 361 pages. $2.50. A careful and tolerant discussion of Chicago's school problems, internal and external, and the social forces and agencies which have played their parts. Two changes he would support: recognition and representation on the board of education of the more important points of view in the community; a great increase in the authority of the professional staff.

Love and Life, by Don Cabot McCowan, M. D. Chicago: Pascal Covici, 1928. 8¾ x 5¾. 205 pages. $3.50. A book of sex knowledge written frankly and without obsequious deference to any fad. One of the best.

Man and Civilization, by John Storck. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1928. 8½ x 5½. 449 pages. $3.75. A Columbia professor with what is called encyclopedic knowledge writes on just about All. Supposedly readable, we come up gasping to give thanks that it wasn't really a technical discussion of the forces that made us what we are today—biological nature, social environment, cultural life. A college education—no kidding.

Three Young Crows, by Ernest Harold Baynes. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927. 8¼ x 5½. 183 pages. $1.75. Delightful stories of varied bird life by the late well-known naturalist, strikingly illustrated.

Strange Bedfellows, by Silas Bent. New York: Horace Liveright, 1928. 8¼ x 5½. 347 pages. $3.00. Twenty-one essays, lively and discerning, on as many problems and personalities of politics, press, and (to break the alliteration) "the almighty dollar."

Possible Worlds, by J. B. S. Haldane. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928. 8½ x 5½. 305 pages. $2.50. Pick-me-up papers contributed to various journals by the earnest and sprightly British scientist. Views that rouse you, by a mind illiterate in sociology but always in long focus on humanity.

The Anatomy of African Misery, by Lord Olivier. London: 52 Tavistock Square, W. C.: Hogarth Press, 1927. 7¾ x 5. 234 pages. 6s plus delivery charges. A valuable presentation of the dangers to civilization when dominating whites controlling a black country kick the natives in the face by their economic and racial policies.

Gallio, or The Tyranny of Science, by J. W. N. Sullivan. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1928. 6¼ x 4¼. 57 pages. $1.00. A good corrective. "The proper attitude today in which the problem of man's place in nature should be approached is one of bewilderment and humility."

Motherhood and its Enemies, by Charlotte Haldane. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1928. 7¾ x 5. 253 pages. $2.00. An informed and clearcut discussion, frank and often irritating, of the whole field of sex and womanhood in the modern world.

Don't Tread on Me, by Clement Wood, McAlister Coleman, and Arthur Garfield Hays. New York: Vanguard Press, 1928. 7¼ x 4¼. 135 pages. $.50. Tactics for aggressive legal action in behalf of labor when under duress in conflict situations.

Intervention in Latin America, by Lamar T. Beman. New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1928. 8 x 5. 295 pages. $2.40. Up to the usual high standard of this series of invaluable handbooks, replete with cogent references and rounded data.

The Sweet Singer of Michigan, by Mrs. Julia A. Moore and edited by Walter Blair. Chicago: Pascal Covici, 1928. 7¾ x 5. 158 pages. $2.00. By a dirty trick, to the unbounded joy of all readers, the sob sister "poetry" of this once celebrated versifier has been restored. A lively gift book for those who can stand excruciating, because unintended, clownery.

The Baha'i World, 1926-1928. New York: Baha'i Publishing Committee, 1928. 10 x 6¾. 300 pages. $2.50. A highly interesting record of recent activity and thought among the believers in this religion of peace and brotherhood.

The Second American Caravan, A Yearbook of American Literature, edited by Alfred Kreymborg, Lewis Mumford, and Paul Rosenfeld. 9½ x 6½. 872 pages. $5.00. An interesting determination to do something fresh runs through this undeniably vital compilation. Most of the authors feel pretty Sore at Life; you can't blame 'em, but we wonder if being a Pollyanna is much worse than being confirmedly pessimystical.

Susan B. Anthony, by Rheta Childe Dorr. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1928. 9¾ x 6¼. 367 pages. $5.00. An eminently readable study of a woman whose brilliant vision and serviceable militancy are none too well appreciated by this generation. Many a lesson for the leaders and followers of present-day causes.

CORRESPONDENCE

Regulating War

IF, instead of outlawing war from the world, we must go on expecting war and preparing for it and trying to regulate it in advance, an ancient agreement between two hostile forces about to engage in battle might serve as a basis of discussion at least.

It was in India, pagan India, some hundreds of years before the Christian era. Two armies confronted each other, one challenging the other to combat in the most insulting manner, according to India's great epic.

"Where is the sleepy Bhima who threatened to drink the blood of Duhsasana who waits for him here?" cried the king of the Kurus. "Whoever comes out to battle against us, be he man or elephant will never escape with his life, and though you are our

PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS

LLANO CO-OPERATIVE COLLEGE

Co-Educational—Liberal—Non-Sectarian. Earn all expenses while in College. Enjoy our delightful Winter climate. Winter Term Opens December 3rd.

Write: LOWELL H. COATE, Supt.

New Llano Louisiana

SAINT JOHN'S SCHOOL

(Non-Sectarian)

Boulevard and Tower Hill Road
Mountain Lakes, New Jersey

Write Richard E. Shields or Ruth A. McClure, Principals.

WORKERS FOR PEACE

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

383 Bible House, Astor Place, New York City

Uniting people of many lands who are committed to a way of life creative of fellowship and unity, who therefore repudiate war, exploitation and racial discrimination.

Secretaries: Paul Jones, Nevin Sayre, Amy Blanche Greene.
YOUTH SECTION: Howard Kester, Secretary.

WOMEN'S PEACE UNION,

39 Pearl Street, New York City.

Affiliated with War Resisters' International. Founded on belief that violence and bloodshed are wrong in principle and disastrous in practice. Advocates Amendment to Federal Constitution making war legally impossible. Members sign affirmation declaring intention not to take part in any war.

THE PEACE HOUSE

Fifth Avenue and 109th Street
New York City.

Dedicated to Universal Brotherhood. Mrs. J. Sergeant Cram, Founder and Director.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

SCATTERED SEEDS

An illustrated Monthly Magazine for Children
Published under the care of the Race Street branch of Friends. Send 75c for one year's subscription to
SCATTERED SEEDS—Dept. W.
1515 Cherry St. Philadelphia, Pa.

An Organ of Organized Labor Without a Dull Page

THE LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS JOURNAL

Covers the general labor and railroad news of the month in a lively and progressive manner. Reflects the life and aspirations of American railroadmen with telling illustrations, original labor articles, genuine railroad stories by the men of the iron trail themselves, cartoons that hit the spot and editorials with a real labor message.

An Interesting Magazine for Anyone

1105 B. of L. E. Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio $1.50 a year.

Send for Additional Copies of This Issue

Special Bundle Order Rates

8 Copies $1.00

THE WORLD TOMORROW

52 Vanderbilt Avenue New York, N. Y.

brethren, you know no more of our powers than the frog who lives in a river knows of the caves beneath it."

Fierce anger blazed up at the challenge and eagerly it was accepted, but before hurling themselves upon each other they prudently sat down and drew up a few rules of warfare.

1. They agreed first of all that there should be no strategy or treachery.

2. When not actually fighting there should be open and friendly intercourse between the two armies. How much pleasanter war would be if soldiers could knock off occasionally and get together, say, in a game of baseball! A good deal of overhead could be saved, too, if the welfare and religious work among the men could be done together.

3. Fugitives, suppliants and charioteers should not be slain.

4. Horsemen should fight only with their kind and the militia only with foot soldiers. What a lot of confusion this would save—airplanes only against airplanes, tanks against tanks, submarines against submarines! How it would simplify war! It's getting them all so badly mixed up that complicates things so.

5. When warriors were fighting with words only, no one should use arms against them. That seems to be a fine idea. Men could sit up on top of the trench walls and carry on a fearful fight with words. With the expressiveness of a soldier's vocabulary what a fight could be had, if no sharpshooters were forever trying to get any head that showed itself!

6. Again, no one should take up arms against another without giving him some warning. A set of signals could be worked out, something like "fore" in golf, warning when about to shoot; or a word could be sent ahead giving just the time an attack might be expected. That would surely save a lot of surprises.

7. Finally, when two combatants were engaged, no third party should interfere.

Having decided on the rules of warfare each retired to his camp, had a good night's sleep, and next morning bright and early joined the battle.

C. S. Braden

Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

What Would You Do?

My pacifist plane is losing flying speed. My motor's missing, there's water in the gas!

I am trying to be a conscientious objector and develop interracial and inter-class good will and understanding. Now look what's happened. My American friend who sells the gas up here, who has also put away his gun and is depending on good will, is almost murdered in his sleep by a man he has treated more than generously for over twelve years. As a bachelor he turned over his keys to the cook, and the cook for years had added to his pay, already larger than that of others in the community, by stealing charcoal and supplies from his master.

But *cherchez la femme.* The lady now appears and takes charge of the house as well as my friend. She takes the keys and objects to opium and rice wine, dishonest prices and dirt. Finally, the cook loses his job. He scowls at the lady as he meets her on the street.

One month later, at five in the morning, armed with four daggers and a meat cleaver, he climbs over the garden wall. Entering the house he meets a servant boy, stabs him and goes to the master's room. My friend, feeling the mosquito net pulled, awakes in time to dodge a blow from the cleaver; but a six-inch cut

nearly reaches his brain. Football training counts. He tears through the net and with a rush throws his assailant to the floor, at the same time calling to his wife that there is a robber and to lock herself in the bathroom. She, however, goes downstairs, arms the frightened servants with anything she can find, and brings six of them to help. As they struggle to take the knives from the desperate man, he lunges at one of the boys and gives him a nearly fatal cut across the throat. The others try to kill the lunatic, but the master persuades them to turn him over to the police.

My friend and his boy are both sent to the hospital.

Sequel: I talk it over with my Chinese friend. He asks where pacificism comes into this. I reply that if I had been in the situation I would have shot the assailant like a mad dog. Wang says, "That's war. War is shooting down those who won't listen to reason."

Now where am I? I seem to be looking for a forced landing. There is no insane asylum. Should the man be shot?

Reconstruction: Social—Fight the opium and booze habits. Show the people the results and cut off the supply as soon as public opinion is strong enough to overcome the graft. Personal—Don't let the servant go so far with all his crookedness before he's checked.

But what about the fight? What am I doing about it?

I haven't the slightest fear of anybody in this city of 60,000 though I get plenty of black looks from unintelligent people stirred by communist propaganda. I have hundreds of Chinese friends in all groups, especially students, merchants, doctors, government officials, and clerks.

I can't get fire insurance and there is practically no fire protection. Small robberies are common. Occasionally martial law has to be proclaimed and recently more than twenty persons have been shot for robberies and depredations. Police are unable to deal with many of these affairs.

I wonder where my pacificism is going. I have been telling my Chinese friends who have just been fighting one of the great civil wars of history that they have not solved their problem but have rather increased it by increasing the number of idle men trained only to kill. Now comes this horrible example to smash my "unconquerable good will."

I want to be intelligent in my application of good will, but I'm very much tempted to get the best automatic I can buy to meet this other sort of emergency. Shall I create a state of mind that will bring about the very trouble I seek to avoid?

Should my friend have prayed the God of peace to change the mind of that crazy servant? Somehow my faith only gets far enough to see him butchered in his bed meanwhile. Is that just where he and I both fail?

I have said I would never fight in another war. I won't. But what's the answer—the Cross?

I'm sincere. Here I am, five weeks' fast mail from home. If you can put yourself in my place, what's your answer?

VERNON D. PARKER

Yunnanfu, China

THE DUANE PRESS

Printers of the Better Kind

46-48 New Chambers Street **New York**

Phone Beekman 0139

Eighteenth PALESTINE TOUR

Conducted by DR. and MRS. RAY ALLEN

FEBRUARY 28 TO MAY 20, 1929

Madeira, Gibraltar, Algiers, Monaco, Athens, Constantinople, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Italy, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Holland, England.

$915 complete. $700 shorter tour.

A cruise, a pilgrimage and a tour.

REMARKABLY COMPREHENSIVE, ATTRACTIVE, INEXPENSIVE.

Summer vacation tour to Europe June 29.

Dr. Allen's new translation of the Gospel of Mark. Independent, vivid, clear, Oriental, fascinating. Beautifully bound. $1 postpaid. 6 copies $5. Ideal Christmas gift.

Rev. Dr. Ray Allen, 54 Shepard Avenue, Buffalo, N. Y.

MAKE MONEY

In Your Spare Time

Write now for our plan to cash in on your odd moments.

Dept. 135

THE WORLD TOMORROW

52 Vanderbilt Avenue **New York, N. Y.**

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of THE WORLD TOMORROW, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1928.

State of New York, } ss.:
County of New York, }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Kirby Page, who, having been duly sworn according to the law, deposes and says that he is the editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The World Tomorrow, Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.; Editors, Kirby Page, Devere Allen, Reinhold Niebuhr, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y. Managing editor, none; business manager, none.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) The World Tomorrow, Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y. (a non-stock corporation); John Nevin Sayre, 104 East Ninth St., N. Y., President; Vice-President, none; Caroline B. La Monte, Secretary, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.; Kenneth E. Walser, Treasurer, 67 Wall St., N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is ..... (This information is required from daily publications only.)

KIRBY PAGE,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1928.

(Signed) HELEN LESCHORN,
Notary Public,
New York Co., N. Y.

Certificate filed in N. Y. Co. No. 93; N. Y. County Register's No. 9064.
(My commission expires: March 30th, 1929.)

The Last Page

AS a rule I put not my faith in headlines. Yet there are times when careful investigation of details backs up headline accuracy. After all, the dispatch states explicitly that Mr. Hoover, after getting his corking idea for a South American trip in friendly spirit, personally asked for the use of the dreadnought. Hence it is fair to place here, as a testimonial to the fact that pre-election campaigning along the line of the orthodox political straddle may be expected for some time to come, the following headlines from the New York *Times* (which were duplicated substantially in other papers):

HOOVER WILL VISIT NATIONS
OF SOUTH AMERICA SOON
ON MISSION OF GOOD WILL
Warship Chosen for Trip

* * * *

FEW are the jobs open to American youth that I have not tried at least once, but copyreading and headline writing is not one. Still, what of that? I can fancy myself turning them out at a fast rate along the same general technique, if only all kinds of people would just be as delightfully carefree as Presidents-elect, and startling and newspaper-reading public in this wise:

SMITH CALLS AT WHITE HOUSE
TO PAY RESPECTS TO VICTOR
Armed to Teeth with Knife
and Three Heavy Automatics

* *

FORTY MISSIONARIES EMBARK
TO SPREAD LOVE IN MANY LANDS
Clad in Armor and Equipped
with Liquid Fire Projectors

* *

SPEAKER PLEADS FOR GOOD WILL
IN EVERYDAY RELATIONS OF LIFE
Declares to Kiwanis Club That
Showing Blackjacks Breeds Respect

* *

BANDIT WON FROM CRIME CAREER
BY REVERENCE FOR ROUGHHOUSE
Sight of Cops with Drawn Guns
Causes Change of Heart in Bad
Bill, Who Kisses Captors and
Promises to Join Church Choir

* *

PARENT-TEACHER MEET DECLARES
FRIENDLY RELATIONS FIRST NEED
Votes Policy of "Gun for Every
Teacher, Bomb for Every Child"

* *

SOCIAL LEADERS BURY HATCHET
RIVALS MEET AND PLAN TRUCE
Summer Colony Sees Friendly Meet
Kept Calm by Three Armed Guards
with Riot Guns and Gas Grenades

* *

PAIR AT ALTAR PLEDGE
UNDYING TRUST AND LOVE
Groom Wears Lead Pipe,
Bride Reveals Stiletto

* * * *

MR. RASKOB followed similar tactics in his drive to wi radical, progressive, and labor votes. Advertisements i leading periodicals, inserted by an electric reproducing piano co cern, carried Mr. Raskob's photograph, together with his endors ment and the signed statement (calculated to prove his devotio to social justice and the working masses) that in recent years h had bought twelve of these instruments for home use or as gift In another campaign we shall doubtless read:

PARTY LEADER DECRIES GREED;
DEMANDS FAIR SHARE FOR WORKERS
Addresses Open-Air Meeting of Miners
from Window of Smart New Rolls-Royce

* * * *

IN *Money Writes,* Upton Sinclair spends a lot of time knock ing the stuffing out of numerous contemporary novelist Methinks Upton is sometimes a bit rough on everyone but Upto But with some of his onslaughts I can only agree. I haven't thing in the world against Mr. Carl Van Vechten, possibly becaus I have read but few of his books; but I am in a position to enjo Sinclair's attack on the New Yorker's flair for obscure and pe dantic words, his pseudo-aristocratic familiarity with the lives o the elegant, and his studied efforts at over-sparkling diction. I'v read enough to relish that much, certainly.

Yet how trivial does all this seem, compared to the scandal can tell! If I were to think up the dirtiest yarn possible about an man, I couldn't match what I swear to be true about Van Vechte —namely, that he is the only person this side of Hades who write with blue typewriter ribbon on yellow stationery bearing his nam and address gloss-printed in red, and signs his name in green ink If Sinclair can do anything worse than this revelation, I'd like t know just what.

* * * *

MR. PAUL D. CRAVATH, well-known New York lawye went to Russia last summer. Upon his return, the news papers credit him with saying, among other things, "There is ver little luxury in Moscow, as the Soviets do not believe that anyon should have anything more than the working man, which make life there somewhat monotonous." My idea of a really interest ing place would be ancient Babylon, or Egypt under Cleopatra When the man out of a job peeks in through the windows of th Ritz-Carlton and sees the swell gentlemen at dinner and th beautiful ladies with pearls, oh boy! what a thrill of sweet conten it gives him! "What lovely fur," said the Lamb to the Lio politely. "I hope you enjoy your dinner."

* * * *

I'M getting fed up with the "scientists" who are trying t establish communication with Mars. Why don't they com out of their laboratories and consult the D. A. R.?

ECCENTRICUS.

WHO WHAT WHY

of

THE WOMANS PRESS

THE OFFICIAL NATIONAL MAGAZINE
OF THE Y. W. C. A.

WHAT IS THE WOMANS PRESS

The Womans Press is a Magazine for thinking women everywhere—in church, the school and the college, in industry, in community and social work, in the home, in politics.

It is an opinion-making-magazine which interprets woman's thought and activities in education, religion, economics, international relationships, community life.

It stands for progressive Christian leadership.

It is a tool for Christian leaders everywhere in the movement of women toward a better world.

WHO READS THE WOMANS PRESS

Woman Leaders
Educators
Church Workers
Social Workers
Students
Business Women
Industrial Workers
Women in the Home
Women Interested in Politics
Y.W.C.A. Members
Y.W.C.A. Secretaries
Y.W.C.A. Board and Committee Members

WHY SUBSCRIBE TO THE WOMANS PRESS

presents to you fresh points of w on foreign relations, industrial l legislative problems and child or. It interprets the national pro- m of the Association regarding se subjects.

gives you carefully considered ar- es by well known authorities on h topics as the family life of to- y, child and adolescent psychol- y, the new education, and the ce of religion in our life today.

e staff includes special corre- ndents, our foreign secretaries d workers in all the important es of the world, to keep us in ch with history-making events t are in the spotlight on the rld stage.

It brings you the Press Pussy, a witty creature whose nonsense often expresses a philosophy as revelatory as it is humorous. Few magazines can boast of so clever a satirist.

It keeps an Association from getting into its own little rut; it fortifies the Association from the danger of thinking that the world is bound by its own swimming pool, clubs and classes.

The WOMANS PRESS keeps you in touch with work of other organizations such as Federal Council; Women's Clubs; Conference on Cause and Cure of War; League of Women Voters.

It contains reviews of the latest books.

It is the official Y.W.C.A. magazine, it is indispensable to you, because

It affords a definite concrete way of expressing your interest, your loyalty and support as it is one of the few income producing resources of the Association.

It includes: Helpful program material. What one organization did to celebrate the Week of Prayer. A clever stunt another stated at the annual meeting. The unusual, out of the ordinary experiments that are being carried on all over the field.

HE WOMANS PRESS
Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

nd me THE WOMANS PRESS for one year, beginning with the December Number. $2.00 enclosed.

Name .....

Address .....

In answering advertisements please mention THE WORLD TOMORROW

SONS OF AFRICA

By Miss G. A. Gollock

Author of "Lives of Eminent Africans," etc.

Lively biographical sketches of outstanding Negro Africans from the days of the Great Askia, who began to rule in 1492, to J. E. K. Aggrey, who died in 1927 while completing his Ph.D thesis at Columbia University. Beautifully bound and printed.

Decorations by Aaron Douglas $1.50

FRIENDSHIP PRESS
150 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

MADNESS OF WAR

By THE VERY REVEREND
H. S. BREWSTER, D.D.

AN important book for this day of peace treaties and wide discussion of methods of war prevention. Dean Brewster asserts that Jesus was an out-and-out pacifist, and he also states the argument for non-resistance in what seems to be an unanswerable way. The book will arouse the fiercest condemnation from "100-percent Americans," jingoists, and professional patriots and will likewise be highly lauded by those who seek a fundamental philosophy for the outlawry of war.

"Here is a book that deserves the widest possible circulation. It is sound in diagnosis, temperate in treatment, and courageous in its proposals. Ministers and laymen and laywomen will find it 'disturbing and stimulating.'"—KIRBY PAGE.

"I should like to see this book on the desk of every minister of the Gospel, and what's in it in the mind and heart of every layman."—EDWARD A. STEINER. $2.00.

HARPER & BROTHERS, *Publishers*, NEW YORK

For Christmas

CHRIST IN THE POETRY OF TODAY

Practically a new volume of verse

"FOR the first time the Religious Book Club is able to recommend a new volume of poetry. It does so with all the more satisfaction because this book is an indication of the appeal which the person of Jesus makes to the poetic mind.

We know of no other place where one can get such an insight into the rich imagination and the reverent spirit with which twentieth century poets approach the Poet of Galilee."

A few of the representative poets included in this anthology are Edna St. Vincent Millay, Countee Cullen, Elinor Wylie, John Hall Wheelock and Edwin Arlington Robinson. $2.50.

THE WOMANS PRESS
600 LEXINGTON AVE., NEW YORK, N. Y.

FRIENDS BOOK AND TRACT COMMITTEE

QUAKER BOOKS
PEACE LITERATURE
RELIGIOUS BOOKS

144 East 20th St., N. Y. City

BOOKS, TRACTS
QUAKER PICTURES
FOR SALE

CLEARANCE SALE

Price $1.00, plus 10c postage, each

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THEOPHILUS WALDMEIER
Thrilling story of the Christian adviser to King of Abyssinia.

ST. STEPHEN'S HOUSE,
by A. B. THOMAS and others.
Quaker relief work for Germans in England during the war.

QUAKERISM AND INDUSTRY
(Once a best seller).
Report of a wartime conference of Employers on their obligation.

TWO SUNNY WINTERS IN CALIFORNIA,
by CROSFIELD
A sympathetic view of America by an English Quaker lady.

UNFINISHED PROGRAM OF DEMOCRACY,
by RICHARD ROBERTS
An important survey by a former Secretary of the Fellowship.

Chateau de Bures

par Villennes, Seine-et-Oise
17 MILES FROM PARIS, FRANCE
Country Boarding School
To Prepare Boys for American Colleges

30 acres. Own farm. New dormitories with outdoor sleeping porches. Gymnasium. Athletic fields.

Modern, Progressive Methods. Music, Art, Sciences.

25 American and Foreign Masters.

For information address *Executive Secretary, Chateau de Bures, par Villennes, Seine-et-Oise, France.*

Date Due

DEC 1	1967		
	PRINTED IN U. S. A.		